

3c9 "2c"  
INDEXED  
Vol. XIII.

✓  
APRIL-JUNE, 1922

No. 2

# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND  
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS, NOTES, NEWS AND  
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE ROMANCE  
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by

HENRY ALFRED TODD and RAYMOND WEEKS

with the cooperation of

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG  
MILTON A. BUCHANAN  
JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD  
J. D. M. FORD

LUCIEN FOULET  
JOHN L. GERIG  
C. H. GRANDGENT  
GEORGE L. HAMILTON

HENRY R. LANG  
ARTHUR LIVINGSTON  
KENNETH MCKENZIE  
HUGO A. RENNERT

EDWARD S. SHELDON

HUGH A. SMITH

and of

THE HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

---

PUBLISHED BY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

LANCASTER, PA.,

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

Entered as second-class matter April 19, 1910, at the Post Office at Lancaster, Pa., under the Act of  
March 3, 1879.

## CONTENTS

The Floral Games of Toulouse ( <i>continued</i> ) . . . . .	JOHN C. DAWSON 97
Chaucer and Medieval Hunting . . . . .	OLIVER F. EMERSON 115
A Bibliography of Peruvian Literature (1821-1919) . . . . .	STURGIS E. LEAVITT 151
REVIEW :	
Paris et les Parisiens au Seizième Siècle . . . . .	HÉLÈNE HARVITT 195

### Articles to Appear Shortly

- Deux Poèmes de Peyre Cathala (*continued*). C. FABRE, Le Percy, France.
- Bernard de Poey, Contemporary of the Pléiade. JOHN C. DAWSON, Howard College.
- The Floral Games of Toulouse. JOHN C. DAWSON, Howard College.
- American Travelers in Spain (*continued*). C. EVANGELINE FARNHAM, Columbia University.
- The Chronology of the Earlier Works of Chrestien de Troyes. LUCY M. GAY, University of Wisconsin.
- La Aparición que Hizo Jesus Christo a los Dos Discipulos que Yvan a Emaus*, an Early Sixteenth-Century Play. JOSEPH E. GILLET, University of Minnesota.
- The Original Version of Torres Narharro's Comedia Tinellaria. JOSEPH E. GILLET, University of Minnesota.
- Storm-Making Springs: Studies on the Sources of *Ivain* (*continued*). GEORGE L. HAMILTON, Cornell University.
- Old French *Trover en escrit*. JULIAN E. HARRIS, Columbia University.
- The Missing Lines of *La Estrella de Sevilla*. S. GRISWOLD MORLEY, University of California.
- A Bibliography of Bolivian Literature. STURGIS E. LEAVITT, University of North Carolina.
- The Old French *Lai de Nabaret*. GERTRUDE S. LOOMIS, Vassar College.
- An Examination of Some Sources of *Don Álvaro*. E. A. PEERS, University of Liverpool.
- Bibliografía Dramática Colombiana. JOSEPH L. PERRIER, Columbia University.
- Two Comedies dell' Arte on the Measure for Measure Story. WINIFRED SMITH, Vassar College.
- Dña Maria de Zayas y Sotomayor. LENA E. V. SYLVANIA, Columbia University.
- Alessandro Manzoni-Beccaria, Romanticist. MARY V. YOUNG, Mount Holyoke College.
- The Italian Sources of Antonio Scoppa's Theory of French Versification. P. S. ZAMPIÈRE, Washburn College.

### THE ROMANIC REVIEW

Subscription price, \$3.00 per year, single number \$1.00.

On subscriptions outside of the United States and dependencies, postage is charged extra as follows: To Canada, on yearly subscriptions 12 cents, on single numbers 3 cents; to all other countries, on yearly subscriptions, 24 cents, on single numbers, 6 cents.

Remittances should be made by New York draft, check or money order, payable to Columbia University Press. On checks drawn outside New York City, ten cents should be added for collection charges.

THE ROMANIC REVIEW is issued by the Columbia University Press, a corporation. The officers of the Press are Nicholas Murray Butler, president; William H. Carpenter, secretary, and John B. Pine, treasurer. Communications should be addressed to

#### COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

41 North Queen Street, Lancaster, Pa. or Columbia University, New York City

### JUST PUBLISHED

#### HISTOIRES ET JEUX

By Jessie F. Barnes

Simple French stories, songs and games for pupils of junior and senior high-school grades.

#### LE BEAU PAYS DE FRANCE

By Josette Eugénie Spink

Varied selections in simple form reflecting the quaint charm and the versatile genius of France. For pupils who have taken their first steps in French.

**GINN AND COMPANY 70 Fifth Avenue,  
New York**

# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XIII. — APRIL-JUNE, 1922 — No. 2

## THE FLORAL GAMES OF TOULOUSE

(Continued from vol. XII, p. 275)

### THE POETRY OF THE LIVRE ROUGE

While winning poems were not transcribed in the *Livre Rouge* before 1539, there is sufficient information in the records to enable us to determine the nature of them. In 1513, Hugues Roguier won the *Gauch* (*Souci*) or Marigold for a ballade in the *langue d'oc*. This seems to have been the last time that a prize was awarded for a poem in the native language.<sup>43</sup> The Violet was awarded to a student, Jacques Sapientis, for a *ballade unisonant et entrelassée*, upon the *blason* of the counts of Toulouse. From 1514 to 1518, the records are wanting. In 1519, Jean de Villeneuve was awarded the Marigold for an *oraison de Notre Dame* in the form of a *ballade*. Jehan de Vignes, a priest, won the Eglantine for a *ballade unisonante* in praise of Saint Sebastian; and the Violet was won by Jehan Pérot, student, for a *ballade* on the university of Toulouse. The refrain of his poem,

"Le dieu Phœbus est venu d'Ylion,"

shows a fondness for parading classical names, one of the marked characteristics of the Rhetoricians. The next record (1535) is

<sup>43</sup> While no poems composed in the language of the South were awarded prizes during the period covered by the *Livre Rouge* (1513-1641), it was not long after this period that Grégoire de Barutel in 1651 won the Eglantine for a *chant royal* composed in the Gascon dialect. This was no doubt an exceptional case. The practice of awarding prizes for poems in Provençal was revived only in the later nineteenth century, and at present they have their regular place in the annual competition for prizes.

taken up with a quarrel between the *mainteneurs* and the *capitouls*<sup>44</sup> over the election of a chancellor, and no mention is made of the contest. The next is that of 1539, the time when the winning poems began to be inscribed in the *Livre Rouge*. Of the two poems recorded, one is a *chant royal* by Pierre Trassabot, a native of Toulouse who acquired considerable reputation as a musician, painter and sculptor. This is the first *chant royal* of which there is any record, and may have been the first for which a prize was awarded in the Floral Games. The theme, that life is a constant struggle, is commonplace, and the refrain reflects the Rhetoricians' liking for sententious or proverbial sayings:<sup>45</sup>

"Que vye humaine a icy tousjours guerre."

The poet injects into his composition a certain imagery and portrays faithfully enough the life of the soldier of his day as well as the longing for peace and the hopes aroused over the prospect of it; the disillusionment that comes as other ills spring up to take the place of war; the cold, the heat, the storms, and all the things that beset man on his journey through this world.

The ballade for which Hector du Pertuiz won the Violet shows the influence of the *Roman de la Rose* in its personification of Melancholy, War, Death, etc.

"Fuyez chagrin, chassez mélancolye,"

says the poet, as he proceeds with a banal pæan of praise in honor of his sovereign, whom it would be impossible to recognize if we did not know that Francis I was reigning at the time.

With 1540, begins the sway of the *chant royal*. In that year all of the winning poems were of this genre, and, as has already been stated, with few exceptions the *chant royal* will hold undisputed sway in the Floral Games until the end of the seventeenth century. Throughout the sixteenth century, the content and spirit of the winning poems will be determined by the models of the Rhetoricians. Not that no influence will be exerted by the new spirit of the Renaissance as represented by the *Pléiade*, but that this influence is com-

<sup>44</sup> The *capitouls*, or city fathers, participated in the Floral Games as representatives of the city, which furnished the funds to pay for the annual prizes.

<sup>45</sup> "La façon dont les rhétoriciens concevaient la morale les conduisait nécessairement à l'exprimer en proverbes. . . ."—Henry Guy: *op. cit.*, p. 68.



paratively limited before the seventeenth century. In the seventeenth century, Pléiade influences will alter profoundly the content and spirit of many of the winning poems, but the form remains and the general conception of the *chant royal* lingers. In the sixteenth century it is the general ideas of the Renaissance, especially philosophy and science that attract the young poets, and their influence overshadows that of the Pléiade. Aside from the thought, the greatest innovations of the sixteenth century are, perhaps, the change from the verse of *ten* syllables to the *alexandrin* (in 1556), and the introduction of certain words and turns of expression characteristic of the Pléiade. In their language the poets of the Floral Games are not imitators of the effete Rhetoricians. French is a foreign language to many of them, and their works display the crudeness that accompanies the effort to write in a foreign tongue, but they have a respect for the language that was not possessed by the later Rhetoricians. Their attempts to express in French abstract and philosophical ideas which they have but poorly digested, often leads them into absurd turns of expression and grotesque figures of speech, but one is impressed by the seriousness with which the poets approach their task. With the progress of time, the language of the poets improves, and in the winning poems of the seventeenth century we see a gradual approach toward perfection; many of the poems containing lines and passages worthy of the great poets.

At the hands of the poets of the Floral Games, the *chant royal* becomes an instrument for the portrayal of allegory to the extent that the *envoi* loses its name and is succeeded by the word *allégorie*. Had the allegorical features of the poems been introduced in a skilful and natural manner, the poems that have been preserved in the *Livre Rouge* might stand as monuments of allegorical literature. But the reader after wading through five strophes in which are paraded names belonging to ancient mythology is suddenly startled, when he reaches the *envoi* or *allégorie*, to discover that Jupiter is God, that Apollo is Jesus, and that Daphne is the Virgin Mary. As was the case with their models, the poets of Toulouse had an artificial conception of allegory. Whatever of vitality there had been in the allegorical treatment of literary themes had long since passed away. For the poets of Toulouse, antiquity presents the same sort of

fascination that it did for their models of the north; nor do the former understand the ancient world any better than the latter. The difference between the Rhetoricians and the Pléiade is that while the former knew *about* antiquity, the latter *knew* it. Like the Rhetoricians, the poets of the Floral Games have a fondness for parading their knowledge. Under their pens long enumerations are made of the heroes of antiquity: heroes and heroines of mythology, great writers, characters from history. The occult sciences, astrology and alchemy, have an irresistible charm. Abstruse questions of philosophy attract these student poets as the flame does the moth. The burning questions of the times hardly disturb them at all. But for an occasional poem on the reigning sovereign or the dauphin, there is scarcely any portrayal of the times in approximately three hundred *chants royaux* recorded in the *Livre Rouge*, covering a period of a hundred years, the period which witnessed the struggles of humanism and the Reformation, and in the political realm the growth of France into an absolute monarchy under the strong hand of Richelieu.

A survey of a few of the poems contained in the *Livre Rouge* will furnish the key to the contents as a whole. By 1540, as already stated, all of the winning poems were *chants royaux*. In that year a young poet, Corrière, celebrates a shepherd guarding his flocks in a "sumptuous valley." In the *envoi* we are told that the shepherd is God, the flock is human nature, the lamb is the Saviour, and the sheep, the Virgin. Claude Terlon<sup>46</sup> depicts the passion of our Lord. Apollo is Jesus, Daphne is his body born in chastity. Jehan Rus, of Bordeaux, celebrates "l'arbre passant toute œuvre naturelle." This marvellous tree, situated "towards Greece," has a powerful attraction:

De toutes partz, pour ce boys à grand presse  
Vous eussiez veu gens venir et aller.<sup>47</sup>

The Grand Turk appears to mar the perfect bliss and happiness of the scene. The tree is Jesus, the Grand Turk is the Devil.

Qui fist mourir (au moins comme il pensoit)  
L'arbre passant toute œuvre naturelle.

<sup>46</sup> Also spelled = Trellon.

<sup>47</sup> Some of the poems cited have been previously printed, but many are here published for the first time.

<sup>48</sup> Should be *qui*.

In 1541, Pierre du Cèdre, who was to play a leading part as a Huguenot in the religious troubles at Toulouse in the second half of the century, celebrated the excellence of Poetry in crude verses in which he enumerated a list of names from the Bible and from Greek and Roman antiquity: Moses, David, Orpheus, Museus, the Sybil, Lynus, Plato, Homer, Virgil, and Ovid, concluding his argument with the refrain:

"Laurier sans feuille et sans loz bon poète."

Mercadier de Besse wrestles with the "Cognition de la chose divine." In 1543 Pierre Pascal introduces us to another wonderful tree, this time the marvellous tree is "towards Judea," and is a tree

"Que<sup>49</sup> l'homme rend à jamais bien heureux."

In 1544, Étienne Forcatel,<sup>49</sup> who later was selected as professor of law in the university for the chair for which Cujas<sup>50</sup> had entered into competition, began an unintelligible philosophical poem:

"Démagorgon, le grand père des dieux,  
Sortit du creux de l'abisme du monde. . . ."

In 1548, Anthoine Noguier, who wrote in Latin a well known history of Toulouse is obsessed with the idea of primal causes, the remoteness of which he seeks to impress upon the reader by the repetition of the word "avant:"

"Avant le poix, avant nombre et mesure,  
Avant Chaos et, son encombrement,  
Avant le cours de Phœbus qui mesure  
Les chaudz et froidz sentiers obliquement,  
Avant que fust du monde la machine,  
Avant la mer et son ample piscine,  
Avant que feust le Centre mesuré,  
L'idée estoit sans fin nulle et naissance  
Et contenoit en son sein azuré  
Ung tout en trois d'une mesmes essence."

From the *allégorie* we learn that the "tout en trois" is the Trinity.

<sup>49</sup> In the *Livre Rouge*, he signs his name thus, but it has usually appeared in print as *Forcadel*.

<sup>50</sup> Known as the Father of Modern Law.

In 1549, Hélie Boyresse's vision is dazzled by a green tree, "pleasant and delectable;" from the refrain we learn that it is

"La verte olyve en ce monde honorée."

and from the Envoi, the son of God "fruit sortant de la pucelle." In the same year Mathieu de Chalvet, afterwards first president of the parlement of Toulouse, and translator of Seneca, carried his audience into a "cloz delicieulx" to witness

"Le seul Phénix, se tuant pour renaistre."

In 1550, Jehan de Flavyn has an eye single to

"Le point parfait dont deppend tout le monde."

In 1551, Pierre de Saint Aignan celebrates

"La nef flottant pour le salut du monde."

In 1554, an honorary prize was awarded to Pierre de Ronsard,<sup>51</sup> and for the first time a *sonnet* appeared upon the records of the *Livre Rouge*, not as a winning poem, but accompanying a *ballade*, for which Sanxon de la Croix, *escollier*, was awarded the Violet. Since the *ballade* had practically ceased to be a form of the Floral Games, we are led to suspect that the judges were influenced in their decision by the *sonnet*:

"Chantez, mes vers, entonnez un tel son  
Que vous puissiez plaire aux doctes oreilles,  
Et toy, mon luth, fredonne les merveilles  
De l'Éternel, en ta douce chanson.

Tu as apriz de Phébus ta leçon,  
Ces chantz secretz et choses nonpareilles  
Et pourquoy donc est-ce que tu sommeilles,  
Te congnoissant des Muses nourrisson?

Fay moy parler tes résonnantes cordes  
Le loz divin que sur elles accordes,  
Et charge-moy sur tes chansons de miel,  
Afin qu'estant sur leur eschigne forte,  
Je puisse ung jour aller frapper la porte  
Du temple saint qu'ont les Muses au ciel."

<sup>51</sup> An honorary prize was awarded to Baïf in 1586.

A few sonnets aside, the first sustained breath of the Renaissance is to be found in a hymn on the Nativity, a poem of almost a hundred lines in *alexandrins*, which Loys du Pin inserted, along with a conventional *chant royal*, in 1569:

"Sus! laissés voz brebis et voz troupeaulx de bestes;  
Accourés tous ensemble aveques voz musètes,  
Prenez, voz chalumeaux et d'un son gracieux  
Chantés et rechantés chascun à qui mieulx mieulx,  
Car c'est à ceste nuict que le filz du grand père  
Est sorty des liens du ventre de sa mère.  
Sus donc! despechés vous, en Bethléem courés,  
Où sur ung peu de foin l'enfant vous troeuvérés."

The poets of the Floral Games of the sixteenth century have a fondness for miraculous trees and paradisiacal gardens. François de Chalvet succeeds in giving an atmosphere of actuality to such threadbare themes when he introduces us to

"Le jardin fleurissant sur les bordz de Garonne."

The "chaste pucelle" who graces it with her presence is Clémence Ysaure, "les grand dieux" are the capitouls, and the flowers that adorn it are the Violet, Eglantine and Marigold of the Floral Games. The poem is grotesque; but perhaps the most sublimely ridiculous poem in the whole collection is one by which the same writer won his third prize, the Eglantine, in 1581. The refrain indicates the nature of the poem:

"L'œuvre qui se parfaict dans le vase alchimique."

The *œuvre* is the philosophical egg,

"C'est l'œuf philosophal dans lequel on proïète  
Durant trois mois triplés nostre pierre secrète."

In 1577, Jehan Sevestre, a Parisian, presented a *chant royal* and won the Eglantine. His poem in honor of the holy and sacred Trinity, the poet calls a *chant royal monocole, dédocastrophe, intercalaire, acrostiche*. He calls the first strophe *Proode*, the second *Strophe*, the third *Mésode*, the fourth *Antistrophe*, the fifth *Epode*, and the *envoi*, *Epirrhème*. Thus, in this poem are blended ill-digested ideas of the Rhetoricians and the Pléiade. For all the

poet's pretensions, the poem does not differ from the other *chants royaux* except that it is an acrostic and instead of being *monocle*, perfectly homogeneous, as the author claims, is perhaps more incoherent than the majority of the poems contained in the *Livre Rouge*. The first letters of the lines of the first strophe spell the poet's name. Those of the second strophe tell that he is "Parisien," and the first lines of the remaining strophes announce the subject of the poem: "En l'honneur de la sainte et sacrée Trinité." The first strophe illustrates sufficiently the *chant royal* as a whole:

"Je chanteray l'honneur souverain de nature,  
Après Pythagoras, montant dessus les cieux,  
N'ayant encore aucun frayé cest' adventure,  
Sur le plus hault esprit j'esleveray mes yeux.  
En l'unité on voit l'origine première  
Vn principe comun de toute la matière  
Et de la forme ornant cest univers parfait;  
Toute loy tend à un, ainsi qu'un a tout faict,  
Retourne tout en un, començant un en nombre  
Et finist on en un, car tout faict et refaict  
*L'unité divisant et unissant tout nombre."*

The poet's belief in the virtue of numbers is a reminiscence of the Pythagorean philosophy which was reduced by the schoolmen of the middle ages to abstract formulas. To certain numbers, such as 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, and 10, marvellous powers or properties were attributed. From the time of Dhuoda, who wrote in Latin in the ninth century, to go back no further, down through the middle ages, the science of numbers had attracted writers. Frequently the poets of the Floral Games enveloped their poems in the mystery and allegory of numbers.

"Le trois, nombre sacré, moule de toute essence."

"Le rond qui du quadrangle est le centre immobile."

"Les trois angles esgaulx du parfait isoplure."

"Le rond qui de trois ronds est le centre immobile."

Excursions into physics, chemistry, or medicine, give such lines as:

"L'aymant qui donne vie au métal insensible."

"L'eau fort qui des métaux divise la substance."

"Le simple distillé dans le bain de Marie."

"Le corail destruisant le charme des sorcières."

"Les effets merveilleux de l'eau de jalousie."

In their wide interest in knowledge, in their boldness in approaching the most abstruse questions of philosophy, astrology, alchemy, astronomy, physics, medicine, chemistry, or what not, the poets of the second half of the sixteenth century at Toulouse are of the Renaissance. They represent the natural development of the tendencies of the Rhetoricians modified by the new spirit. By comparing them with the Pléiade, it is easy to see what a profound revolution was worked in French poetry by Du Bellay, Ronsard, Desportes, and other members of the group. The following lines, most of them refrains, will give some notion of the variety of the topics which these riders of an unruly Pegasus undertook to treat:<sup>52</sup>

- 1552. "La ronde sphère à son centre fondée."
- 1553. "Le petit monde estant encor à naistre."
- 1554. "Les deux liqueurs arrosans tout le monde."
- 1558. "L'esprit universel infuz en ce bas monde."
- 1559. "La pure et simple forme exempte de nature."
- 1560. "Les formes qui sans forme ont formé la machine."
- 1561. "L'astre qui plus reluict au zodiaque oblique."
- 1562. "L'édifice immortel de la divine essence."
- 1564. "L'eschelle qui conjoint la terre avec les cieux."  
"La lune du soleil empruntant la lumière."
- 1567. "La clarté flamboiant dans la lampe éternelle."
- 1569. "L'accord entretenant le ciel, la terre et l'onde."
- 1570. "L'estoille marinière aux navigans propice."
- 1573. "La matière aspirant à la forme parfaite."
- 1573. "L'âme vivifiant ce que le ciel enserre."
- 1577. "L'estoile par l'escler du soleil redorée."
- 1579. "Les trois poinctz rapportés en la ligne éclipitique."

<sup>52</sup> Monsieur François de Gélis, mainteneur of the Floral Games, has recently written an article upon the humanistic tendencies of the poets of the Floral Games. See *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de Toulouse*, 1919: *Les Poètes humanistes des Jeux Floraux*.



1581. "L'œuvre qui se parfaict dans le vase alchimique."  
 1584. "Les discors accordés d'éternelle discorde."  
 1586. "Le cristal honorant la fontaine de vie."  
 1586. "Le luth qui remplit tout d'une sainte harmonie."  
 1589. "Le triangle accompli de trois lignes esgalles."  
     "Astrologue subtil, qui as la cognoissance,  
     De maintz événements que tu vas prédisant."  
 1590. "Le charme qui nous lie à l'amour éternelle."  
 1591. "Je suis grand alchimiste et qui de la nature  
     Recherche curieux les plus rares secretz."  
 1593. "L'esprit, l'âme et le cors de la pierre alchimique."  
 1596. "La navire bruslée au miroir d'Archimède."  
 1598. "Du bel astre argenté la lumière éclipsee."  
 1600. "La Colure marquant l'un et l'autre solstice."  
 1602. "Les sept astres puyssants qui esclairent le monde."  
 1604. "La verge descouvrant les richesses du monde."  
 1604. "Les douze astres bornans du soleil la carrière."  
 1613. "Le diamant brizé par ung coup de tonnerre."  
 1614. "Le ruisseau qui résout les pierres endurcies."  
 1615. "Le néant devenu de l'infini capable."

Let it be recalled that the purpose of the poems, as reiterated again and again in the pages of the *Livre Rouge*, was to glorify God, the Virgin, and the saints. The effect of the Rhetorician influence and of the paganizing influence of the Renaissance was to deflect the poems from the stated purpose. The semblance of a religious import or intention was preserved by explaining in the *envoi* or *allégorie* that the things treated in the poem were symbolical, and had some religious or moral significance which the poet proceeds to indicate.

The fondness for the occult sciences on the part of the Toulouse poets was probably due to the impetus which they had received in France at the opening of the century. Cornelius Agrippa had lived for some time in Lyons. Other mediaeval scientists were there also, as for example, Simon de Pharès, whom Charles VIII visited in 1495, and an Italian who boasted of transmuting baser metals into gold. The celebrated Nostradamus lived in Provence in the earlier sixteenth century, and Julius Caesar Scaliger lived at Agen, not far from Toulouse.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>53</sup> For a good account of Scaliger, see Christie, *Étienne Dolet*.

While influences of the Pléiade are not entirely wanting in the poems of the Floral Games in the sixteenth century, it is not until the beginning of the seventeenth that the Pléiade influence makes a sufficient impression to materially improve the poetic quality of the chant royal. In 1601, Paul du May, a young poet of Toulouse, won the Eglantine for a poem which shows a wide departure from the preceding poets.

"C'estoit en la saison que l'aisle peinturée  
De Zéphir esvantoit maint fleuron gracieux,  
Dont le nouveau printemps rend sa flore pourprée,  
Descouvrant cest esmail qui décore les cieux,  
Quand je vis ces thrésors dont la vermeille aurore  
A la pointe du jour son visaige redore.  
Et le tige amoureux du soucy blondissant  
Qui baisoit le beau tainct de l'œilhet rougissant;  
Admirant la beauté de sa fleur nompareille  
Le soleil entr'ouvrist mes yeux esblouissant  
*Les lis d'or embrassans la fleur de lis vermeille.*"

This poem, on the marriage of Henry IV to Marie de Médicis and the arms or *blasons* of the two families, is conceived more nearly in the manner of the Pléiade than any of the poems, perhaps, that had preceded it. In this same year, a *sonnet* was inserted in the *Livre Rouge*, which is of interest as showing the influence of Desportes:

"Et quoi, mon cher souci, serez-vous toujours telle?  
Aimez-vous toujours à me faire mourir?  
Ha! que le Ciel fist mal de vous former si belle  
Et de tant de beaux dons vostre esprit favoriser!  
  
Mais bien, si tant vous plaist, une mort bien cruelle  
Bornera mes tourmens, sans guères plus souffrir,  
Puisque par trait de temps mon service fidelle  
N'a sçu de vos beaux yeux la rigueur amoindrir!  
  
Ainsi parloit Philon, aiant l'âme blessée  
Des beaux yeux ennemis de sa belle Dircée,  
Trop beaux et trop cruelz à ses contentemens.

Mais enfin ce berger, après tant de souffrances,  
Comme un ruzé soldat, il a donné dedans,  
Aiant par son discours abbattu les déffences."

In 1618, Jean Allard, of Mirapoix, was awarded the Eglantine for a *chant royal*, "à l'imitation des tableaux de Philostrate." This poem presents a curious blending of pagan sensuality and Christian morality:

"Voyés son sein de neige où mesmes dans la glace  
Amour nourrit ses feux et garde son flambeau;  
Sur ces deux petits monts quelquefois il prend place  
Et ressemble Apollon sur le double coupeau.  
Son col dessus l'yvoire emporte l'avantage,  
Mais l'art de la nature est plus grand au visage,  
Les lys y sont meslés d'un beau teint de pudeur,  
La rose est sur sa bouche, au dedans son odeur,  
Et Zéphire amoureux d'une si douce haleine,  
Baise sans estre veu, tout pasmé de douceur  
*Susanne qui se lave au bord de la fontaine.*

In the *reddition de l'allégorie* we learn that Suzanne is the soul of the sinner.

The poem which is perhaps the best sustained throughout and which presents the most vivid imagery is that of Bernard d'Aliès, of Toulouse, Doctor of Theology, for which the Violet was awarded in 1623:

#### CHANT ROYAL.

POUR UNE DESCRIPTION D'UN POURTRAIT DE  
SAINTE MAGDELAINE.

Quel est ce beau pourtrait? Seroit-ce Magdelene?  
Mais pourquoy les couleurs l'ont peinte sans couleur?  
Elle qui parloit tant, va souspirant à peine,  
Elle qui rioit tant est pleine de douleur.  
Ses yeux qui les espritz rengeoient sous le servage,  
S'abaissent sous la Croix et luy rendent homage.  
Ses mains, filles d'honneur, qui soignent sa beauté,  
En conspirent la perte avec sa cruauté.  
Elle ravissoit tout, elle est toustes ravie.

Non, sans doute, voilà, foulant la vanité,  
*Magdelene pleurant le printems de sa vie.*

Elle est là de son long, sur l'herbe, la mondaine,  
Ainsin l'orage abat une nouvelle fleur  
Qui rehaussoit l'honneur et le pris d'une plaine,  
Et luy couvre son tainct d'un voile de palleur.  
Mille amours de ses yeux fuient à vol, à nage,  
Les petitz-filz des eaux craignent-ilz le naufrage?  
Sur ce front, près des yeux, quelqu'un en est monté,  
Dans son sein, sur deux montz, les pleurs en ont porté,  
Qui deçà, qui delà, quelque route a suivie,  
Abandonant au deuil, en ceste extrémité,  
*Magdelene pleurant le printems de sa vie.*

Ce corail animé par où sort son haleine  
Dans la mer de ses pleurs a laissé la rougeur;  
Les roses et les lis dont sa face estoit plaine,  
N'ont gardé que l'espine en noyant la fraîcheur.  
Ses cheveux tout mouillés s'attachent au visage,  
Leurs nœuds sont relâchés et leur foible cordage  
Où tant et tant de cœurs perdoient la liberté,  
Ne les retiennent plus dans la captivité.  
Son sexe à sa beauté ne porte plus envie,  
De tous ses dous appas les plus dous ont quitté  
*Magdelene pleurant le printems de sa vie.*

Telle se lamentant on pourroit peindre Hélène,  
Quand le Grec d'Ilion demeura le vainqueur,  
Si l'on ne sçavoit pas qu'elle estoit toute vaine,  
Que les pleurs de ses yeux n'estoient pas ceux du cœur!  
Mais regardés la nostre avec quel fort courage  
Pour l'amour de son Dieu son beau corps elle outrage!  
On diroit que son bras n'est jamais arrêté,  
Qu'un coup à l'autre coup est tousjours adjousté,  
Et ny lasse jamais, ny jamais assouvie,  
Extrême on voit tousjours, en son austérité,  
*Magdelene pleurant le printems de sa vie.*

Elle mesle son sang à ses pleurs, l'inhumaine,  
Son âme seulement conserve sa blancheur.

Un ruisseau de son sang coule de chasque veine,  
 Elle veut y noyer son crime et son erreur.  
 Son Dieu qui pend en croix sur le hault de l'ouvrage,  
 Semble de son amour lui rendre tesmoignage.  
 Voyés! elle se veut cacher en son costé  
 Et son esprit de zelle et d'ardeur transporté,  
 D'y faire sa demeure à jamais la convie,  
 Logeant dans le séjour de la félicité  
*Magdelene pleurant le printemps de sa vie.*

REDDITION D'ALLÉGORIE.

Une âme qui cognoist le seigneur yrrité,  
 Qui demande pardon à sa divinité,  
 Rendant sa volonté soubs ses lois asservie,  
 Elle est dans ce pourtrait, cherchant (*sic*) l'éternité  
*Magdelene pleurant le printemps de sa vie.*<sup>54</sup>

Not often do the poets of the College of Rhetoric strike a personal note. There are, however, some cases:

J'estois près d'ung ruisseau dont les ondes sucrées  
 Arrousoient de nectar les campagnes sacrées.

J'eslève mon esprit vers la voûte azurée,  
 Pour chanter la bonté des secourables dieux.

Master Bertrand Larade shows himself a true Gascon:<sup>55</sup>

Une nouvelle ardeur eschauffe mon courage  
 Et l'anime si fort qu'il se treuve emporté  
 Du désir violant d'entreprendre ung ouvrage  
 Qui puisse faire ung jour, honte à l'antiquité.

<sup>54</sup> *Livre Rouge*, vol. 2, f. 271. Published as a whole for the first time.

<sup>55</sup> Bertrand de Larade was born in 1581 at Montréjeau. He became a poet and made his reputation by *La Muse gasconne* which he composed in 1607. This volume is made up of pastorals, chansons, odes and sonnets. In his *Histoire littéraire des patois*, Dr. Noulet represents him as a poet of little originality but of pleasing naïveté. In 1910 a commemorative tablet was placed upon the house which he had inhabited at Montréjeau, accompanied by eulogies in verse and prose, the most excessive of which characterised him as the Homer of Languedoc. The different editions of his works are: *La Margalide gasconne* (1604), *La Muse gasconne* (1607), *La Muse piranese* (1609). All three were printed at Toulouse by Colomiès.

Infrequently, the poets attempt to portray external nature. The following lines from Catel,<sup>56</sup> 1617, illustrate the ability of the young poets to deal with nature:

Les pluies, les frimas, la glace et la gelée,  
La neige et la rigueur d'un hyver ocieux  
Aux bruslantes chaleurs esgalement meslée,  
Nous donent maintenant ung printemps gracieux,  
Le soleil nous aproche et la terre plus belle,  
Tapissée de fleurs, met sa robe nouvelle.  
Tout rit à ce beau May, les petitz amoureux  
Dansent folastrement sur le bord des ruisseaux.  
Et Zéphir qui fléchit soubz leur obéissance  
Faict esclorre parmi la verdure des préaux  
*La fleur qui rend l'odeur au point de sa naissance.*

The later Greek influence of the Renaissance which reached its most perfect expression in Racine, was felt at Toulouse. A strophe from a *chant royal* for which Bernard Boyssonade was awarded the Marigold in 1640, will be sufficient to illustrate the poet's ability in handling a Greek subject:

POLIXÈNE.

Ilion n'estoit plus; desjà toute la Grèce  
Songe à recevoir ces filz ou ces pères absans,  
Lorsque la terre s'ouvre au milieu de la presse;  
On oit de bruits confus et de cris languissans;  
Achille en sort et dit: "Race lâche et maudite,  
"S'il te souvient encor de mon peu de mérite,  
"Que Polixene meure! En cela seullement  
"Rends un juste devoir à mon ressentiment.  
"Elle verra mon sang pour le sang de Troïle,  
"Dois-je pas veoir aussy, pour mon soulagement,  
"*Polixene immolée au sépulchre d'Achille?"*

The *Livre Rouge* contains several poems of more or less historical interest. Among them is one on the crowning of Louis XIII at Rheims.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Charles Catel, whom Dumège affirms, but without furnishing proofs, to have belonged to the family of the well-known historian, author of *Les Comtes de Toulouse*.

<sup>57</sup> *Livre Rouge*, vol. 2, f. 325, v°. Hitherto unpublished.

Les François, dans l'excès d'une joye incroyable,  
 Alumoint mille feus par tous les carrefours;  
 On n'oyoit dedans Reyms qu'un meslange agréable  
 De leurs chantz d'alégresse et du son des tambours;  
 Le pavé parsemé d'une moisson fleurie  
 Paroissoit soubz leurs pas une belle prairie;  
 Un ciel de drap, tendu pour la solempnité,  
 Déroboit à leurs yeux le ciel plain de clarté,  
 D'où pour nouveau subject de leur resjouissance  
 Venoint en ce moment à leur prince indompté  
*Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.*

Le devant des maisons, à ce jour mémorable,  
 Effaçoit tout l'éclat des plus superbes Cours,  
 Il ne paroissoit plus à soy mesme semblable,  
 Revestu de drap d'or, de pourpre et de velours;  
 Les festons, les tableaux et la tapisserie  
 Changeoient la moindre rue en riche galerie,  
 Chaque place sembloit un palais enchanté  
 Tant elle avoit de pompe et de diversité,  
 Lorsque, pour acomplir ceste magnificence  
 On vit reluire en l'air, plain de sérénité,  
*Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.*

Louis sortoit alors de ce temple admirable  
 Où son cœur abjura ses dieux foibles et sourds  
 Pour celui qu'il avoit éprouvé secourable,  
 Sy tost qu'à sa puissance il avoit eu recours;  
 Ses précieux habits brilloient de broderie,  
 Où ce mêloit la perle avec la pierrerie;  
 Son front d'une charmante et douce gravité  
 Mettoit d'accord l'amour avec la majesté,  
 Et ne faloit que veoir son aymable présence  
 Pour croire que le prince avoit bien mérité  
*Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.*

Aussy veoit-il soudain un héraud favorable  
 Qui luy porte d'en haut ce visible secours;  
 Il est surpris de veoir son visage adorable  
 Qui ternit les appas du plus beau des amours,  
 Son maintien le ravit, où, sans affeterie,  
 Avecque la douceur la beauté ce marie;



Il admire ces yeux, dont la vivacité  
Fait veoir quelque rayon de la divinité,  
Et commence à porter plus haut son espérance  
Depuis qu'entre ses mains ont si bien éclaté  
*Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.*  
Grand Dieu, s'écrie alors ce prince incomparable,  
N'estoit-ce pas asses, pour bien heurer mes jours,  
D'avoir ceste liqueur, à jamais perdurable,  
Qui doit de nos bonheurs éterniser le cours,  
Sy pour mieux tesmoigner que ma chère patrie  
Sur tous autres pais de ton cœur est chérie,  
Tu n'usses le ciel mesmes en nos mains transporté,  
Et des trois astres d'or son azur marqueté.  
Continue enve(r)s nous, Seigneur, ta bienveillance,  
Et défens à jamais, de toute adversité,  
*Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.*

*Allégorie.*

Mon Roy, qui de nos maux a la source tarie,  
Est ce brave Louis, chassant l'idolâtrie,  
Et le grand Richelieu, dont la fidélité  
Maintient les trois estats sous son autorité  
Et par qui son Empire est mis en assurance,  
Est cet ange qui porte en toute sureté  
*Les lys donnés du Ciel au sceptre de la France.*

Jean Doujat (1634).<sup>58</sup>

In 1639 appeared a *chant royal* by a poet named Clarac in honor of the birth of the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XIV.<sup>59</sup> The author wrote also a comedy published at Lyons, entitled: *Arlequin ou Grapignan gascou*. Following is an extract of the poem:

"L'on voit autour de luy que la terre féconde  
Ne laisse jamais rien ny sécher ni pourrir.

<sup>58</sup> Jean Doujat, born 1606—died 1688, became a member of the French Academy in 1650. He was professor of canon and civil law in the university of Toulouse. It is said that he spoke nearly all the languages known, both ancient and modern. He collected a large library of works on theology, history and philology. He was the author of a well known *Dictionnaire de la langue toulousaine*. Before his death he was appointed historiographer to the king. In 1634 and 1638 he won the Eglantine and the Violet in the Floral Games.

<sup>59</sup> Born September 5, 1638.

Une source de lait l'arrouse de son onde,  
 Dont le cours immortel ne peut jamais tarir.  
 Là le monde semble entre en sa première enfance,  
 Et le plaisir s'y prend avec tant d'innocence  
 Que les plus médisans n'y peuvent rien forger.  
 Dans cet heureux climat, Silvie et son berger  
 Enflammés des ardeurs d'une amour mutuelle,  
 Contre celles du jour cherchent pour s'ombrager  
*L'arbre qui rajunit par une ante nouvelle.*

"Cet arbre ne craint pas qu'on le coupe ou l'esmonde,  
 Son bonheur est cy grand qu'il n'a rien à souffrir;  
 S'il gresle, s'il fait vent, si le tonnerre gronde,  
 C'est pour grossir les fruitz et les faire meurir.  
 Par ses propriétés Dieu fait veoir sa puissance,  
 Il l'a voulu douer d'une telle excellance  
 Que mesme en le touchant l'on ce peut alléger  
 Du plus cruel des maux qui nous viene affliger,  
 Et ceste qualité qu'il a sy naturelle  
 Fait souhaiter sans cesse au pais étranger  
*L'arbre qui rajunit par une ante nouvelle.*

"Tout le monde est ravi des biens dont il abonde,  
 La terre, l'air, le feu, sont faitz pour le nourrir,  
 Et si l'on veoit ici que l'Océan inonde,  
 C'est afin que cet arbre y puisse refleurir.  
 Les cieux lui font tribut et pour recognoissance  
 Versent en sa faveur leur plus douce influence.  
 Tous les ans le printems revient pour l'obliger;  
 L'esté meurit les fruitz que d'un soin homager  
 L'automne lui présente en offrande immortelle,  
 Et l'hiver rigoureux n'oseroit outrager  
*L'arbre qui rajunit par une ante nouvelle."*<sup>60</sup>

JOHN C. DAWSON

HOWARD COLLEGE.

(To be continued)

## CHAUCER AND MEDIEVAL HUNTING

✓

TOO little attention has been paid to Chaucer's knowledge of hunting, and to those passages in which it appears in his works. For example, it will be easy to show that some words of specific relation to the pursuit of game have been misunderstood, or inadequately explained. Thus some passages in the poet may be more clearly elucidated. Again, Chaucer's knowledge of hunting is evidenced by the number of hunting terms used by him. The *New English Dictionary* cites Chaucer as the first to use the following words or expressions in specific hunting meanings: *alaunt*, *default*, *dog for the bow*, *emboss*, *forloyn* sb.; *foun* 'fawn, young deer of first year';<sup>1</sup> *have a course at*; *lymer* 'limmer, lime-hound'; *over-shoot* 'lose the scent'; *pricasour* 'hunter on horseback'; *priking* 'tracking the hare'; *rechase*, *ruse* vb., *slay with strength*; *sour* 'sore, buck of first year'; *toret* 'swivel.' To these also the great dictionary might have added, as first appearing in Chaucer, *find* 'discover game sought,' and *relay*, besides the compounds *great hart*, *hart-hunting*, *master-hunt*, and probably *great horn*, which it does not give at all. In addition, Chaucer uses the hunting terms *form* 'lair of a hare'; *hallow*, *hamel* (*hamble*); *moot* (*mote*); *strake forth*; *sue* 'pursue as game'; *trist* (*tryst*) 'hunting station.'<sup>2</sup>

The need of further examination of Chaucer's language of hunting will be apparent from a consideration of the hunting scenes in the *Book of the Duchess*, passages believed to be peculiarly Chaucer's own.<sup>3</sup> These are especially lines 344-433 and 1311-23.

<sup>1</sup> In *Troilus and Creseide* i, 46-8 Chaucer uses *foun* (*fown*) in the figurative sense of 'new thought, emotion,' a meaning not recorded by the *NED*.

<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that most of the words here enumerated are of Old French origin, as the special forms of hunting to which they apply were derived from French hunting practice. The phrases *dog for the bow* and *strake forth* are wholly English, while *course* in *have a course at* and *master* (Chaucer's *mayster*) in *master-hunt* are French. *With strength* in *slay with strength* is the English equivalent of OF. *à force*.

<sup>3</sup> M. Sandras, in *Étude sur Chaucer* (1859), pointed some slight likeness to certain lines of a French poem in the *Collection Mouchet* II, 106, but offered little proof that Chaucer knew the poem. Skeat thinks the evidence of little value, and from Chaucer's independence of his source in other hunting scenes I think we may here believe he was picturing things as he knew them personally.

The first begins with the preliminaries of the hunt, the hunter blowing "t' assay his horn," the "going up and down" of "men, hors, houndes, and other thinge," the gossip of the hunting occasion by "al men."

Chaucer's "other thinge" may seem indefinite, but he probably felt he could not further use the elaborate preparations for a king's hunt. Some idea of what they were may be gained from Turberville's chapter on "How an Assembly should be made in the Presence of a Prince," which he precedes by seventy-two verses on the many details. For example the Butler should bring with him

Some wagons, cartes, some mules or jades yladen till they sweate,  
With many a medicine made for common queynt diseases,  
As thirstie throates and typling tongs, whome Bacchus pype appeases,

besides an astonishing array of viands of various sorts.<sup>4</sup> The Duke of York's *Master of Game* of about 1400 also tells of the sylvan feast accompanying the hunt in his chapter on "The Assembly" (ch. xxxiii, p. 163), and adds regarding details in ch. xxxvi that there must be "carts also to bring the deer that shall be slain to the place where the curées at hunting have been usually held."<sup>5</sup> All these were doubtless the "other thinge" in Chaucer's mind.

<sup>4</sup>Reference is to chap. 35 in the page for page reprint of George Turberville's *Booke of Hunting* (1576) in the Tudor and Stuart Library. The quaint cut in Turberville gives a good idea of the royal feast in the wood. In the first edition Queen Elizabeth is the central figure with two ladies in waiting just behind her, while all about are evidences of a merry time. When the edition of 1611 was issued the same cut was retained, except that by a curious transformation King James then took the place of Elizabeth before the identical tree of the original, and the ladies in waiting were deftly changed into masculine retainers. See the reproduction of the two cuts side by side in Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*.

<sup>5</sup>In the absence of the promised reprint of the MSS. in *Palaestra*, I have used the edition of the Baillie-Grohman (Chatto & Windus, 1909). See also ch. xxvi for the numerous preparations preceding the day of the hunt.

The *Master of Game* (*Maystre of the Game*) was made by Edward Third's grandson, Edward second Duke of York, about 1406-13. As is well known the book was largely a translation of *Le Livre de Chasse* by Gaston de Foix, or Gaston Phoebus as he was called from his great beauty. However five chapters of the English book were original, those marked xxii, xxvi, xxxiv-vi in the Baillie-Grohman edition, while there were also in other chapters some changes and some additions by the English author. These are of special value in explaining English, as distinct from French, hunting practice. In quoting the *Master of Game*, for the purely illustrative purposes of this paper, it has seemed sufficient to use the modernized version of the Baillie-Grohman edition.

The first specific hunting expression used by Chaucer is in the boast of the men as they "speken of hunting,"

How they wolde slee the hert with strengthe.

"Slee the hert with strengthe," or "by strength" as sometimes in the *Master of Game*, means 'to kill in regular chase with horses and hounds.' *With strength* is the English equivalent of OF. *à force*, later rendered also by *at force*, as in Turbervile. The next expression with special hunting meaning, *embosed* in the further boast of the hunters, needs more extended comment, as I believe. The lines containing it are,

And how the hert had upon lengthe  
So moche embosed, I not now what.

These lines, and especially the word *embosed*, seem to me to have been wholly misunderstood. Skeat explains *embosed* as

a technical term used in various senses, for which see the New Eng. Dict. Here it means 'so far plunged into the thicket'; . . . . In later authors it came to mean 'driven to extremity like a hunted animal'; then 'exhausted by running,' and lastly 'foaming at the mouth' as a result of exhaustion.

Now the meaning which Skeat gives to the word *embosed* in this passage seems wholly insufficient for the place, and as I think depends upon a misunderstanding of its origin and sense development. Skeat admits that *upon lengthe* means 'after a long run,' but does not see that 'plunged into a thicket after a long run' would in no sense complete the boast of the hunters, while 'so much plunged into a thicket' would scarcely be good English. The boast of the hunters is properly concluded, however, if we assume Chaucer used *embosed* in its usual sense when applied to the hunt. They told 'how they would slay the hart with strength, and how the hart had, after a long run, so much exhausted himself (become so much exhausted), or so much foamed at the mouth and thus became flecked with foam in his weary exhaustion,' that he had at last succumbed to their long continued efforts. In other words this is the specific hunting term *embosed* (*embost*, *embossed*), here used for the first time in our literature.

Skeat's error is natural if we follow the *NED.*, on which he

depended, for that excellent work links Chaucer's *embosed* in this passage with Milton's *embost* in *Samson Agonistes* 1700, which it assumes to mean 'plunged into the thicket' and be an otherwise unknown variant of *emboskt*. The Milton passage, figuring the overthrow of his enemies by the blind and despised Samson, reads as follows:

So Virtue, given for lost,  
Depressed and overthrown as seemed,  
Like that self-begotten bird  
In the Arabian woods embost,—  
That no second knows nor third,  
And lay erewhile a holocaust,—  
From out her ashy womb now teemed,  
Revives, reflourishes, then vigorous most  
When most unactive deemed.

Now if Milton's *embost* means 'plunged into the thicket,' the great poet must not only have used a tautological repetition of the idea 'in the Arabian woods,' but also have omitted any similitude to the preceding "given for lost, Depressed and overthrown" of Virtue, and indirectly of Samson. On the other hand, if *embost* is taken to mean 'worn out, exhausted,' a meaning fully recognized by the *NED*. in other places, the parallelism with Virtue and Samson is complete. In addition Milton is absolved from using *embost* when he meant *emboskt*, a word which he elsewhere uses as we shall see in its more correct form *imbosk*. The figure, that of an animal wearied out by the hunters and admirably adapted to the enslaved Samson, is here applied to the phoenix at the end of its long life. Such use of *embost* entirely agrees with the traditional accounts of the phoenix. After her long life in Arabia (sometimes India), in which she had wearied herself to exhaustion, she did not remain in her native land, but flew away to the city of the sun—a necessary part of the myth—where the "holocaust" of Milton took place, and the beginning of a new life. Even the Milton passage is more logical and more effective with the meaning now first proposed.

In other words both the Chaucer and Milton examples belong with those quoted by the *NED*. from Skelton, Turberville, Spenser and others, in which there is no idea of 'plunged into a wood,' but

rather some variation of 'wearied, exhausted,' developed from the idea of 'foamed at the mouth, became covered with flecks or bosses of foam from hard running.' To clinch our argument, Milton elsewhere used both *embooss* (*embossed*) 'cover with bosses, be covered with bosses,' and *imbosk* 'hide in the wood, lie in ambush,' probably from Italian *imboscare*. The first is found in *Par. Lost* xii, 180, and *Par. Regained* iv, 119. The second, Milton used in the following sentence of *Reformation in England*, B'k I, where he says of the adversaries of reform: "They seek the dark, the bushy, the tangled forest, they would imbosc."<sup>6</sup> The poet knew both words and used each correctly.

The only other example quoted by the *NED.* with *embooss* in the supposed meaning 'plunge into a wood' is this from Butler's *Elephant in the Moon* 125-30:

An Elephant from one of those  
Two mighty armies is broke loose,  
And with the Horrour of the Fight  
Appears amaz'd, and in a Fright;  
Look quickly, lest the sight of us  
Should cause the startled Beast t'imbooss.

The satirical skit of Butler is hardly one from which to reason regarding the exact meaning of a word, and had not the Milton passage been misunderstood I doubt whether Butler's use of *imboss* would have been seriously considered. The preceding *quickly* would perhaps imply in *imboss* some such meaning as 'hide, hide oneself,' and if so the word may be a retention of the ME. *enbussen* beside *enbuschen*, OF. *embussier* beside *embuscher* 'hide in the wood, lie in ambush.' For examples see Mätzner's glossary to the *Sprachproben*. The form in Butler may be due to confusion with *embooss*, although *imbuss* would improve the rime with *us*. The same etymology would also account for Spenser's *embooss* in *F. Q.* I, iii, 24; I, xi, 20; III, i, 64; VI, iv, 40 the etymology of which has been doubtful. The meaning 'hide, conceal oneself' from 'hide in wood' would fit all examples more satisfactorily than has been proposed heretofore. At the same time, 'foam at the mouth, become flecked with foam' would not be wholly unsuitable

<sup>6</sup> See p. 34 of W. T. Hale's edition in *Yale Studies in English*.



in the Butler line, or Butler himself may have mistaken the meaning of this unusual word.<sup>7</sup>

The writer of the *NED.* article on *emboss* v. 2 'plunge into a thicket' was clearly puzzled by his own etymology—"perhaps from En + OF. *bos, bois* wood"—for three times he adds explanatory or half-apologetic notes. Of the etymology itself he says, "if so the word is ultimately identical with *imbosk* v. The development of sense, as suggested below, is strange, but appears to be in accordance with the existing evidence." Under meaning 2 the editor says, "The sense 'drive to a thicket,' required by the etymology suggested above, is not clearly evidenced." And still again, under meaning 3, "The sense 'foam at the mouth' is probably influenced by *emboss* v. 1, as if an 'embossed stag' were one 'studded' with bubbles of foam."<sup>8</sup> With the three examples which once seemed to support the *NED.*'s etymology otherwise explained, we may well assume (that the Middle English hunting term *embosen* (*embossen*) of Chaucer is the OF. *embocer* (*embosser*) 'to swell, rise in bunches or bosses,' then of a deer in the chase 'become exhausted,' as I have pointed out above.]

Further proof that 'cover with foam (by hard running)' is the correct meaning of the hunting term is found in Turberville, who says of the hart (p. 244) "When he is foamy at the mouth we say he is embost." The exact idea is clearer from the fact that Turberville is enumerating expressions used at various progressive stages of the hunt, and "embost" stands next before "spent or done." Again, the meaning 'wearied, exhausted' is clear from Cotgrave's use of *imbossed* in defining *malmené*. Under *mené* he defines the former as "ill-handled, abused, hardly used; sore layed to; wearied, tired, jaw fallen, *imbossed* or almost spent as a deer by hard pur-

<sup>7</sup> The *Ct. Dict.* proposed for the Spenser passages OF. *emboister* 'enclose, insert, fasten as in a box,' but that does not seem to me a satisfactory explanation, especially when the earlier *enbussen* is actually recorded.

<sup>8</sup> The simpler etymology is to assume at once that *emboss* 'foam at the mouth' is from the *NED.*'s *emboss* v. 1 meaning 'swell, rise in bunches or bosses.' The further sense development is 'be covered with bunches or bosses of foam from the mouth'; 'foam at the mouth and cover the body (of a hunted deer) with bunches or bosses of foam'; 'be wearied or exhausted from long running, evidenced by such foaming at the mouth and covering of the body with bosses of foam.'

suit." Finally, Chaucer himself again used *embossed* (*enbossed*) in *up-enbossed hye* of the ornamental bars on the red saddle of Dido (*Leg. of Good Women* 1200), while he also employed the root of OF. *embussier* (*embuscher*), ME. *embuscher*, in *embusshements* of the *Tale of Meliboeus*. It is worth noting that OF. *embocer* (*embosser*) is not recorded before the sixteenth century, but Chaucer's use of it twice is ample proof of its earlier existence.<sup>9</sup>

To return to the hunting scene in the *Book of the Duchess*, when Chaucer rode to the field he overtook, as he says,

a great route  
Of huntres and eek of foresteres.

*Huntres* is the earlier form of our word *hunters* of course, but the *forester* of Chaucer's time was an official more largely connected with hunting than with the preservation of timber, as in more recent times. Thus Manwood tells us (*Lawes Forest* xxi, §4), "A forester is an officer of the King (or any other man) that is sworn to preserve the Vert and Venison of the forest, and attend upon the wild beasts within his Bailiwick." The name was applied first of all to the *master forester*, such as Chaucer himself was in 1398 at North Petherton Park, or to the "forester of the Baillie" in which was the forest to be hunted. He was an important character, for the *Master of Game* explains (ch. xxxvi) that "The master of game should be in accordance with the master forester or parker where it should be that the King should hunt such a day." He should also show the master of game "the King's standing, if the King would stand with his bow, and where the remnant of the bows should stand." Finally he must explain "what game the King would find within the set," that is the part of the forest already set off by men and hounds for the hunt. Under him the master forester had numerous under-foresters, such as was the Knight's yeoman in the *Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales*, or that forester of the *Physician's Tale* (C. T. C. 83), a former poacher who had given up

His likournesse and al his olde [or theves] crafte,

<sup>9</sup> Turbervile again uses *embost* on p. 103: "If peradventure it happen that the pricker on horsebacke, being at his relaye, should see an Hart of tenne passe by him, and yet heare not the other huntsmen nor their hornes, then let him looke wel whether the Hart be embost or not." The hunter would thus know whether the animal thus seen was the one hunted.

and for this reason,

Can kepe a forest best of any man.

Thus *forester* (*forster*) as Chaucer used it was nearly equivalent to modern *game-keeper*, and quite as important in the medieval hunt.

The hunt of which Chaucer dreamed was not in a park, in which case the procedure would have differed somewhat as the *Master of Game* informs us in ch. xxxvi, but at a *forest-syde*, as we learn from line 372 (see also 363). The actual run for the hart was probably in the more open spaces, and possibly in the plains or *launds* like that of Theseus in the *Knight's Tale* 833 (*C. T. A.* 1691). Moreover, the poet dreams explicitly of a King's hunt, such as he had doubtless witnessed many times as chosen valet of Edward III, and later was often to observe in more honorable position. The distinctive details of such a hunt, which need not now concern us, take up chapters xxvi and xxxvi of the *Master of Game*—both original with the English author, and so especially applicable to English usage—and the 35th and 36th of Turbervile's *Booke of Hunting*. The particular King of the poem, "the emperour Octovien" of 368, "this king" of 1314, is reasonably believed to figure Edward himself who, at fifty-seven or fifty-eight, was still vigorous enough to enjoy his favorite sport.

The next hunting term which Chaucer uses, and was the first to use, although the *NED.* first cites the Duke of York's *Master of Game* some thirty years later, is *relay* or the plural *relays* of line 362. This Skeat defines briefly as 'a fresh set of dogs,' but it is properly, as the *NED.* puts it, "a set of fresh hounds (and horses), posted to take up the chase of a deer in place of those tired out." The last phrase "in place of those tired out" is scarcely justified, for the relay hounds did not so much replace the others as take up the hunt more vigorously.<sup>10</sup>

Turbervile, in chapter 38 "How to set Relays," gives an account of the preparations the night before and many details of place and action. The *Master of Game* (ch. xxxiv) emphasizes the as-

<sup>10</sup> The editors of the *Master of Game* say also that the relay was not let go until both hart and following hounds had passed (see footnote to p. 169, and *App.* under "relays"), but the text does not seem to me wholly to justify this interpretation, or Turbervile's chapter (38) on *Relays*. Certainly not all the pursuing hounds were allowed to pass before the relay was unleashed.

signment of relays—there were usually three at least—"by advice of them that know the country and the flight of the deer," "the readiest hunters and the best footers with the boldest hounds with them" being placed "where most danger is." From him also we know that at every relay there were "two couple of hounds, or three at the most." Thus the relay consisted primarily of men, with hounds in leash to be let go on occasion, but "if the deer be likely to fall among danger," that is run among the herd or to another deer, "it were good to assign some of the horsemen among the relays, to help more readily the hounds if they fall upon the stynt," that is, lose the scent. "Danger" in the hunting sense was the difficulty arising from the hunted deer running among others of its kind, and so confusing the pursuing hounds.

Chaucer's *lymere* (362, 365), modern *limmer* or *lime-hound*, is rightly but not fully explained by Skeat as a "dog held in a *liam*, lime or leash." When he adds "to be let loose when required," Skeat has mistakenly confused the medieval lymer with the running hounds, while he seems otherwise ignorant of the special duty of this important animal. The lymer was the tracking hound, trained to scent out game for the hunt, to "move" or start it when hunted, and to regain the scent again if it were lost by the running hounds. He was most strictly required to avoid any other than game animals, and especially not to bark or bay when on duty. When tracking he was held by a leash "three fathoms and a half" in length to give him some leeway—"be it ever so wise a limer it sufficeth"<sup>11</sup>—but was not otherwise let loose.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Master of Game*, ch. xx, p. 126. Twici explains the use of the lymer more fully by having his questioner ask (Dryden's modernization of the Middle English text p. 20): "'Now I would wish to know how many of the beasts are dislodged by the lymer, and how many of the beasts are found by the braches.' Sir, all those which are chased are dislodged by the lymer; and all those which are hunted up are found by the braches." He has also told us just before that the hare "is chased" and the hart, wolf and boar. So also the *Craft of Venery*, a MS. of about 1450 (A. Dryden, p. 105): "'Syr, how many bestis ben there enchased?' iiiiij, the hert, the hare, the bere, the wolfe," where *bere* is probably an error for *bore* by the *e-o* confusion as often in MSS.

<sup>12</sup> See the same ch. xxxiv, p. 174: "For by right the lymer should never out of the rope, though he slip from ever so far." Indeed the oldest hunting treatise in Old French, *La Chace dou Serf*, written about 1250, advises tying up the lymer, at least while blowing the call for the hounds. In Dryden's translation it reads:

The lymer was of no particular breed, but his training required early separation from the other hounds, intimate association with his master, and long exercise in his particular duties. His lime, or leash, as distinct from the "couple" of a hound, was "made of leather of a horse skin well tawed," although for ornamental purposes it might be of white, or green and white silk, or of white leather.<sup>13</sup> It was attached to a collar which might be in later times—probably not for actual hunting—of white or crimson velvet, and even embroidered with pearls. The lime, or leash was fastened to the collar by means of a swivel, or a *toret* as Chaucer calls it in the *Knight's Tale* (C. T. A. 2152), and this was sometimes of silver.<sup>14</sup> This indicates that a good lymer was a choice dog, affectionately regarded by his master or mistress. Chaucer's use of the plural *lymeres* is also right in connection with medieval hunting. The lymer which started the game could not be in every place in which a tracking hound might be needed. While his master did follow the hunt as well as he could, other lymers were placed where they were likely to be needed. The *Master of Game* is explicit in ch. xxxiv, p. 166:

And see that amid the relays, somewhat toward the hindermost relay, especially if it be in danger, that one of the lymerer's pages be there with one of the lymers. And the more danger, the older and the readier and the most tender nosed hound.

When Chaucer says that "at the forest-syde"

Every man did right anon  
As to hunting fil to doon,

he illustrates with several actions in entire accord with hunting practice. He has, it is true, omitted the usual use of the lymer in

"Cross (or pass over) the lair until you have dislodged him [the hart], and then tie your hound [that is the lymer as shown by the preceding sentence] up to a branch, and then you shall blow the call, three long notes, to have your hounds." See a figure of the lymer in A. Dryden's Twici's *Le Art de Venerie* (p. 95) from a MS. of Gaston de Foix. On the other hand Dryden says in his note 18 (p. 52 of the A. Dryden edition of *Twici*): "The lymer after the unharbouring, was frequently allowed to join in the pursuit when the pack came up with the huntsman," although I do not so find it in the early treatises.

<sup>13</sup> *Mast. of Game*, App., under limer.

<sup>14</sup> Madden, *Privy Expenses of Princess Mary*, in App. to *Master of Game*.

"moving," or starting the game, perhaps because he had already mentioned that important animal. Besides, the lymer was sometimes not used "if the deer be stirring in the quarter, and have not waited for the moving of the lymer"—*Master of Game*, ch. xxxiv, p. 167. And again in the chapter "Of the Manner of Hunting when the King will Hunt" (xxxvi), the action begins at once with the blowing of "the three long motes for the uncoupling" by the master of game, Chaucer's *mayster-hunte*. This, at any rate, is the practice in Chaucer's king's hunt. Following immediately on the lines quoted at the beginning of this paragraph he adds:

The mayster-hunte anoon, fot-hoot,  
With a gret horne blew three moot  
At the uncoupling of his houndes.

Perhaps the *fot-hoot* 'hastily' of Chaucer is intended to indicate the more rapid beginning of the king's hunt in this place, or perhaps the lymer's part is included in the general *within a whyl* of the next line (378). Here, too, *mayster-hunte* 'master-hunt' is a technical term later displaced by *master of game* or *master of the hunt*, but reappearing in the seventeenth century in the Earl of Monmouth's Boccalini's *Advertisements from Parnassus* (1656): "Zenophon, Apollos master-hunt." This far earlier use by Chaucer is not recorded in the *NED*. Probably we should also consider *gret horn* 'great horn' in this place a technical compound from allusions in the brief original chapter of the *Master of Game*, ch. xxii "How a Hunter's Horn should be Driven." There the Duke of York tells us,

There are divers kinds of horns, that is to say bugles, great Abbot's, hunter's horns, ruets, small forester's horns, and meaner horns of two kinds. That one kind is waxed with green wax and greater of sound, and they be best for good hunters.

Just what were the "great abbots," as I judge the name should be written, is not clear, but the distinction between great and small horns is evident enough. The brief chapter closes with another reference to small horns:

As for horns for fewterers and woodmen I speak not, for every small horn and other mean horn unwaxed be good enough for them.

It may be added that Gower also uses *grete hornes* in speaking of Actæon's hunt (*Conf. Amant.* I, 343), the term having no source in the original Latin.

If there were space it would be interesting to consider more exactly the difficult word *moot* (376), usually defined as 'a note upon a horn' (Skeat's glossary), without more specific and correct reference to hunting language. At least that *moot* is not wholly equivalent to a single note seems indicated by Turberville. Among his several "measures for blowing" he pictures that of "the uncoupling of the covert side" as a succession of four-four-four-two-one notes, "to be blowen with three windes," that is repeated three times. I wonder whether *moot* (*mot*) is not one or more notes blown with one breath, or wind, a more or less complicated blast of the horn, as would seem to be indicated by other of Turberville's "Measures of blowing set downe in the notes for the more ease and ready help of such as are desirous to learne the same."<sup>15</sup> One regrets that the Duke of York did not fulfil his promise to write "a chapter that shall be of all blowing," that is of all kinds (see p. 170). Of course there is always a possibility that the "measures" differed in different periods. In any case Chaucer is using the hunting term correctly, as well as the specific signal *three moot*, for the uncoupling of the running hounds in actual pursuit of the deer. On the other hand, the earliest use of the term, as cited by the *NED.*, is by Chaucer's Northern contemporary the author of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.<sup>16</sup>

"The uncoupling of the houndes" at the blowing of the "three moot" is followed by three actions indicated by three technical words, two of which occur in Chaucer for the first time, although the *NED.* gives him credit for the earliest use of one only. These actions are the *finding*, *hallowing*, and *rechasing* of the deer, indicated by Chaucer's *y-founde*, *y-halowed*, and *rechased*. The "finding" of the hart refers not to the starting of him by the lymer, but to the discovery by the hounds themselves after he has begun to run. For

<sup>15</sup> See the plates at the close of the book.

<sup>16</sup> Chaucer is quite in accord with the Duke of York's direction (*Mast. of Game* ch. xxxvi, p. 190): "And when the king is at his standing or at his tryste, whichever he prefers, and the master of game or his lieutenant have set the bows and assigned who shall lead the Queen to her tryste, then he shall blow the three long motes for the uncoupling."



this purpose certain hounds were especially set apart, as indicated by the *Master of Game* (ch. xxxiv, p. 167):

And always should the yeoman berner [the man in charge of the hounds], the which is ordained to be the finder, follow the lymer and be as nigh him as he might with the raches [the running hounds] that he leadeth for the finding.

And again in the same place,

But now to come again to the lymer, it is to wit that when the lymer hath moved him, if the lymerer shall see him he shall blow a mote and rechase, and if the deer be soule [that is, alone] the berners shall uncouple all the finders.<sup>17</sup>

The *hallow* (*halloo*), which is connected with the verb used by Chaucer, is not specifically treated by the Duke of York, although frequently mentioned. Turbervile, on the other hand, in chap. 13, p. 31, tells us that the hounds must be taught "to know the Hallowe as well by the horne as by the mouth." Then follows a description of the manner of teaching them. The hallow was distinct from the hunting cries, or words of encouragement or caution, which are given here and there in both the *Master of Game* and Turbervile's *Booke of Hunting*. See the *Appendix* to the former under "Hunting Cries." The verb *hallow* in specific hunting meaning occurs first in *Cursor Mundi* (15833), although there in a figurative sense, Chaucer seems to have first used it in an actual hunting scene. The first use of the noun *hallowing* in the same sense is in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, probably composed a few years before the *Book of the Duchess*.<sup>18</sup> Chaucer's *y-halowed*, then, from OF. *haloer* (*halouer*), means specifically 'to set on the dogs with the hallow (*halloo*)' after the "finding."

<sup>17</sup> Turbervile does not explicitly mention the finder or finders, but explains the action in this way on p. 106: "Then when the Prince or Master of the game is come, and the houndes for the crie, all the horsemen must quickly cast abroad about the covert, to discover ye Harte when he rowzeth and goeth out of his hold, yt they may the better know him afterward by the cote and by his head." On the next page he has the expression, "Until ye Deare be descried and rightly marked."

<sup>18</sup> It is noteworthy that the hunting cries given in the *Master of Game* are still in most cases in their Old French form, although Chaucer, thirty years earlier, used some of them in the English of his *Leg. of Good Wom.* 1213. In Turbervile the English terms are always used.

The third action of the hunt following the uncoupling of the hounds is indicated by Chaucer's *rechased*, on which Skeat has the following note: "Headed back. Men were posted at various places to keep the hart within bounds." Few of Skeat's notes are more misleading. Etymologically *rechase* did mean 'chase back or again,' but *rechased faste Longe tyme* can not mean 'chased back a long time,' but rather 'chased, pursued, hunted fast a long time,' the prefix *re-* having here no more force than in *receive*, *request*. It is true that, especially in contrast with *chase*, the word did have the meaning of 'chase back or again,' as shown by examples in the *NED.*, but not in this place or many others that might be cited, as often in the *Master of Game*. Again, in medieval hunting the word had the derivative meaning 'to blow the measure indicating the chase or hunt, to rally and take up the hunt,' and this, accompanied by the action of pursuit, is the meaning in the *Master of Game*. The call to *rechase* (*rechace*) was blown "when the lymer hath moved him" [the hart or other game] (p. 168); when the deer has passed a relay and the hounds of the relay take up the hunt (p. 169); when, after trying every device to escape, the deer finally stands at bay and the last onset is made (p. 173).

The *NED.* is wrong here also in giving the meaning to Chaucer's *rechase*—the first citation of the word—'to chase (a deer) back into the forest.' The second quotation, one from Caxton's *Jason* (*EETS* ed. p. 23), should have shown *rechased* was used in the simple sense of 'pursued.' There, *rechased his enemyes unto nyghe by the ooste* means no more than *chaced hem unto the grete ooste* of the preceding paragraph. In the *Craft of Venery* also (MS. of about 1450 in A. Dryden's *Twici*, p. 107) we have: "When he (the hare in this case) is stert, thou schalt rechase apon the houndez iij times;" that is, give the call of *rechase* (*rechace*) to urge on the houndes.

It should be noted that *rechase* has the same meaning and use in hunting as Norman French *recheat*, which from 'take back or again' had come to mean 'take to oneself, assemble, rally,' with disregard of the *re-* in most cases. Not used by Chaucer it appears in the contemporaneous *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, with the same idea of 'rallying to pursue the game.' There, the shortened

*rechated* means 'rallied to pursue' the boar when he has broken from covert (1446), when he has again been driven from bay (1466), and in the form *rechatande* 'rallying, sounding the rally' for the hunters at the death of the fox (1911). For this word *recheat* (*rechat*, *rechet*) the *NED.* gives the correct meaning as a noun in 'the act of calling together the hounds [properly men and hounds] to begin or continue the chase of the stag [or other game], or at the close of the hunt.' Turbervile figures this *recheat* in his "measures for blowing." For the signal itself in the body of his *Booke* he uses "blow for the hounds" (p. 108), or "blowe a Recheat to their houndes to comforte them" (p. 111).

There remain to be explained two parts of the action in Chaucer's hunting scene. On *rused* (381) Skeat has no note, but his glossary misleads by his 'roused herself, rushed away' for its place. The *NED.* gives the correct meaning and etymology 'to make a detour or other movement in order to escape from the hounds,' OF. *ruser*, with this Chaucer quotation first. The word is frequent in the *Master of Game*, as in chapters iii, v, xxxi, among others. The hart has turned suddenly from his course to throw the hounds from the track. Doubtless something like that described in the *Master of Game* (ch. iii, p. 31) has taken place: "He maketh a ruse on some side, and there he stalleth or squatteth until the hounds be forth." Or it may be he had let the hounds and hunters pass, and then doubled upon his track and run back the way he came. In any case, the hart "stal away . . . a prevy way," as Chaucer puts it.<sup>10</sup>

The hart's ruse results in a second action of the hunt at this point. The running hounds do not at first perceive the deer's change, "overshoot" the scent, and so lose it for a time. Besides, in *over-shote* (383) of this realistic scene, Chaucer again uses for the first time another hunting term in its technical sense. This he follows by still another technical word of the hunt when he adds of the hounds, they "were on a defaute y-falle," the first example of *de-fault* in its hunting sense in our literature. Skeat defines the phrase

<sup>10</sup> The *Master of Game* deals with ruses of the hart in the same chapter "Of the Hart and his Nature," especially on p. 30 where he begins "An old hart is wonder wise and felle ('cunning') for to save his life." Turbervile, in chap. 40 "Certaine observations and subtilties to be used by Hunesmen in hunting an Harte at force," mentions many "subtilties" of the hart to escape his pursuers, and the procedure in such cases.

on a defeaute y-falle as 'had a check,' and the *Master of Game* regularly uses the native expression on a stynt 'at a stop' (pp. 169, 170), and fall upon the stynt (p. 165). The hunting game is temporarily at a standstill. The hounds, it is true, would soon perceive that the scent was lost, and would go about, often aimlessly, to find it. If they fail, as they must have done in this case, the lymer, or tracking hound must be brought up to find the scent again and put the running hounds "to rights." That the hunt was temporarily stayed at this time is clear from the lines which follow at once:

Therwith the hunte, wonder faste,  
Blew a forloyn at the laste.

The word *forloyn* has been almost as badly treated as Chaucer's *embosed* of this passage. The *NED.* says 'a note of recall,' with this use in Chaucer as the first quotation. Skeat says, with less certitude, 'a recall (as I suppose; for it was blown when the hounds were all a long way off their object of pursuit).' He follows this with a none too clear quotation from the *Book of St. Albans*. In fact the *Book of St. Albans* illustrates only one of several meanings of the word. Etymologically *forloyn*, OF. *fort* + *logne*, is an adverb, meaning as Cotgrave gives it 'verie farre off (a hunting term).' Often, perhaps usually, the derived noun meant that the hounds were far off the scent, away from the hunted animal, as also the measure blown on the horn to indicate that fact—the use in this place. But *forloyn* might mean that one hound, with the deer, had outstripped all the others, as indicated by the verb in this passage from Turbervile (p. 245):

When a hound meeteth a chase [that is a hunted animal] and goeth away with it farre before the rest, then we say he forloyneth. Again, if a hunter had lost track of the chase, or as the *Master of Game* says (p. 173), if he have

been at any time out of hearing of hound and horn, he should have blown the forloyn; . . . and whoso first heard him so blow should have blown to him the 'perfect,' if it be so that he were in his rights;

that is, on the right track of the hunted animal. All these meanings,

it will be seen, easily go back to the adverbial 'verie farre off' of Cotgrave and Old French, here become a noun *forloyn*.

Light is thrown on the development of meaning by that of the ME. verb *forloinen*. This meant transitively 'to leave very far off, to forsake,' and intransitively—doubtless the earlier—'be very far off, stray, err.' Both transitive and intransitive uses occur in the *Clannesse* of Chaucer's contemporary. Further illustrations of the *forloyn* may be cited from the English *Twici* (A. Dryden, p. 23), which also gives the signal on the horn:

And afterwards, when they are gone ahead of you, you ought to call in the manner as I tell you; you ought to blow trout, trout, trou-rourout, trout, trout, trou-rourourout, trou-rourourout, trou-rourourout. 'Hunter, why do you blow in that manner?' Because I was on my right [line, or course], and the Hart is unharboured, and I do not know what has become of the hounds, nor of the company; and for this I blow in that manner. 'And what chase do we call this?' We call that chase the chase of *Forloynng*.

So the *Craft of Venery* (A. Dryden, p. 108):

And when he [the hart] is fer fro me y schall blow in other maner, & that is this, trout, trout, trrororout, trout, trout, trrororout, trrorororout, v tymes this last mote. 'Syre hunttere, whi blowest thou thus?' For as muche as y have no knowyng, but am al uncertain where the hert is bycome, & y wote never where myn houndez bun bycom, ne the men, & therfore y woll blow in this maner. . . . 'Syre, what maner chace clepe that?' We clepen it chace *forloynne*.

In the passage before us it is the deer that has stolen away, the dogs that are very far off, and *forloyn* the signal means that a check, stynt, or default has resulted. Chaucer himself interpreted the situation in lines 539-41:

'Sir,' quod I, 'this game is doon;  
I holde that this hert is goon,—  
Thise hunttes conne him nowher see.'

The *forloyn*, therefore, is not strictly a recall, as Skeat surmized and the *NED.* says with confidence. How entirely the *forloyn* indicated a check or delay in the hunt is clear from Turbervile (p. 108):

If it shoulde happen that the Harte, turning counter upon the houndes in the thicket, had come amongst chaunge, then let all the

hundesmen menace and rate their houndes, and couple them up againe untill they have gone backe eyther to the layre, or to [the] last blemish made upon any Slotte or viewe [that is, of the hart], and so hunt on againe untill they may finde the Harte.

If the difficulty were great the lymer was called up, as I have said, the lymerer having followed the chase in the more open ground, according to Turbervile in the same chapter, "to helpe them at default if neede require." The *Master of Game* is equally explicit regarding the check to the hunt (p. 170):

And if it be great danger (that is, a serious default as the context shows), they ought to blow a mote for the lymer and let him sue till he hath retrieved him, or else till he hath brought him [the hunted hart] out of danger [that is, out from among the other deer].

It may be assumed that when a check resulted from the loss of the scent in any other way, the procedure was essentially the same.

The discussion so far shows that Chaucer was describing the hunting scene in the *Book of the Duchess* with much more of realism than has usually been supposed. How then must we understand his further account, the dropping of the hunt for a considerable time, and the return to it at the close of the poem? Now there is no evidence that Chaucer was actively engaged in the hunt. Skeat, it is true, explains *my tree* of line 387 by saying, Chaucer "dreamed that he was one of the men posted to watch which way the hart went, and to keep the bounds." This seems to me wholly impossible, since it would imply an almost menial service for a king's valet. Indeed, the *Master of Game* (p. 188) tells us explicitly that the "stable," or men set to keep the boundaries, were "set by the foresters or parkers," and must themselves have been under-foresters or woodmen. Nor is there any indication that Chaucer was an attendant of the king in this king's hunt,<sup>20</sup> since in that case he

<sup>20</sup> Such a position would have been entirely proper for Chaucer in 1369, but would have made impossible such freedom of action as he had planned for his poem. Besides, the *Master of Game* (p. 190) shows that special care was taken for the disposition of the king and queen with their attendants:

"For it is to be known that the attendants of his [the king's] chamber and of the queen's should be best placed, and the two fewterers ought to make fair lodges of green boughs at the tryste to keep the king and the queen and the ladies and gentewomen, and also the greyhounds, from the sun and bad weather."

could not have been free to act as he did. We must assume he dreamed of being an unattached observer, and meant by "my tree" merely the one at which he had stationed himself to view the hunt as an on-looker. Since the *forloyn*, or check, in the hunt has occurred—a check that might even mean the end of the hunt for that day—Chaucer feels free to wander off through the wood. The *forloyn* is thus used in the poem for an artistic purpose.

May I pause to note in this relation Professor Kittredge's explanation of "the quality of artlessness or naïvete" in the *Book of the Duchess* (*Chaucer and his Poetry*, ch. ii) as a sort of "dream psychology," an explanation that has continued to seem very attractive. Here Professor Kittredge applies it particularly to the lack of further reference to the horse on which Chaucer rode to the *forest-syde*, and to the whelp which, the poet says, "cam by me," "fauned me as I stod," and ran away when he tried to catch it. The minute accuracy of Chaucer's description of the hunt perhaps suggests some modification of a most interesting exposition. Reference to Turbervile would seem to show that horsemen were regularly supplied with pages for their horses, and that they often took up their positions on foot. Thus (p. 101-2) horsemen of the relay

shall place their houndes in some faire place at the foote of some tree, forbiding [that is bidding] the varlet that he uncouple them not without their knowledge and commaundement. . . . Then shall they go three or foure hundreth paces from thence on that side that the hunting is ordeined, and shall hearken if they heare any thing or can discover the Harte. . . . As also the horseman shall withdraw himselfe aside for another reason. And that is because the pages and they which holde the horses do commonly make such a noyse that he can not heare the crye.

Perhaps Chaucer felt he could not make poetic material of such a page as he must have had in this age of many servants.

The incident regarding the young hound,

That hadde y-followed and coude no good,

is somewhat different. A young hunting hound was too valuable to be lost, as shown by the discussion of the various kinds of hunt—Under such circumstances, Chaucer a king's attendant could not have withdrawn, even for the sorrows of a prince.



ing dogs and their elaborate care in the *Master of Game* and Turberville. Young hounds, too, naturally trained with the old dogs as Turberville tells us on p. 36, were also sometimes employed in the regular hunt, as implied on p. 103. Now the blowing of the forloyn, as already indicated, meant the coupling of the hounds. It was the most natural thing, therefore, that the poet, seeing such a hound running loose "wolde han caught hit," not perhaps as Professor Kittredge assumes "to take him up in his arms,"<sup>21</sup> but to turn over to some keeper for coupling up until the hounds were again let loose on the track of the hart. On the other hand, Chaucer's whelp was to run away for a particular purpose, leading the poet into a deep forest away from the hunt, and finally to a prince of the blood. When he came upon the latter, clearly in distress, even a valuable hound might be disregarded.

Before this latter event leads Chaucer, somewhat tardily as in his early manner, to the real subject of the poem, he was to give some further evidence of acquaintance with hunting terms. Along with the native names of the deer he sees in the wood—the *hert*, *hind*, *buck*, *doe*, *roe*—Chaucer uses for the first time in our literature, so far as the *NED*. quotations indicate, the Anglo-French *foun* (OF. *faon*) 'fawn, young deer of the first year,' and *sour* 'sore, a buck of the fourth year.'<sup>22</sup> Moreover, whether Chaucer was the first to use these words or not, we can hardly believe he did not employ them in their exact hunting significance.

When Chaucer came upon the "man in blak," whom we know as John of Gaunt the bereaved husband of Blanche of Lancaster, the hunt is entirely put aside for a time. It would have been distracting to us as to them if either poet or prince, in the interview which follows, should have been interrupted by hunting horns or hunting cries, by renewal of the chase, or by the clamor of hunts-

<sup>21</sup> Quite possible for a running hound (*ratch*) if a *kenet*, but not likely with a greyhound or other variety of hunting dog.

<sup>22</sup> Chaucer again used *foun* (*fawn*) in *Troilus and Crescide* I, 465-8, where it has the figurative meaning of 'a new thought, or emotion conceived.' The passage reads:

Ne in him desyr noon othere fownes bredde  
But arguments to this conclusioun,  
That she on him wolde han compassioun.

This use of the word is not recorded in the *NED*.



men or hounds at the death. Yet, from the later reference we are now to discuss, it must be clear that the hunt went on. The ruse of the hart may be conceived to have led the hunters some distance away, or the poet's walk through the wood may have taken him far enough to be undisturbed. This is in entire accord with hunting possibilities, quite apart from the poet's right to subordinate the minor to the major action.

In the abrupt close of the poem, when the poet—for poetic purposes less quick than he must have been in life—finally understands the great loss of his patron and friend, the hunt is again introduced in the following lines:

And with that worde, right anoon  
They gan to strake forth; al was doon  
For that tyme, the hert-hunting.

On these lines Skeat has no comment, but *strake* is defined in his glossary as 'move, proceed,' with reference to this place, the only occurrence in Chaucer apparently.<sup>23</sup> Doubtless *strake forth* has

<sup>23</sup> The etymology of *strake* is difficult, as indicated by the *NED*. The special difficulty lies in the fact that we have not only a ME. strong verb *striken* with past tenses *strōke* and *strāke*, but two ME. weak verbs *strāken*—*strāked* and *strōken*—*strōked*, all with essentially the same meanings: 1) 'to go, move, proceed'; 2) 'to sound a horn (sometimes at least indicating movement).' The first, or strong verb is clearly OE. *strican* 'strike,' with an irregular past *strāke* beside the regular *strōke*, as we have today another irregular past *struck* in the same verb. For the *strāke* form cf. *drave* beside *drove*, even in Elizabethan English. These are not Nth. forms, since they clearly belong to the South as shown by many references. They may be shortened forms of the OE. pasts *drāf*, *strāc*.

Of *strāke* wk., with the meaning 'sound upon a horn,' the *NED*. says "of obscure origin." It regards the word as a hunting term only, failing to include *strāke* 'go, proceed' of *Piers Plowman's Crede* 82, or even this Chaucer example. For its etymology I suggest an unrecorded OE. wk. vb. *strācan* 'cause to go,' with derived intransitive meaning making it parallel in purport with OE. *strican*. Such a *strācan* by shortening of the root vowel would give ME. *strāke*, as OE. *wrac* f. 'vengeance' with similar phonology gave ME. *wrāche*.

The wk. *strōke*, with meanings similar to those of the other verbs as in *Master of Game* pp. 194-5, is probably a descendant of OE. *strācian* 'stroke,' with special derived senses perhaps influenced by the other verbs. Such at least is a consistent and possible scheme for these difficulty words.

Incidentally, the *NED*. puts Malory's use of *strāke* (*Morte D'Arth.* X, lii) under the noun, such a noun as does occur in Turberville under "Measures of Blowing" and elsewhere. Malory's example, however, is the infinitive of the verb. To Sir Tristrem is attributed the origin of all "measures of blowing,"

here the broader sense of 'proceed homeward,' as shown by the context. The hunt has ended for the day. Yet the abrupt transition from prince and poet to the hunters of lines 345-386—they of line 1312 must refer to the latter—requires some further explanation. How are the hunters and the king himself (1314) brought into more immediate contact with the somewhat distant poet? Or how had the hunt gone on, as we must believe it did, without disturbing the colloquy between the poet and the "man in blak," and yet now becomes evident to both?

The explanation is in the second meaning of *strake*, well authenticated by examples in our literature, although not given by Skeat. Just as *rechase*, *recheat* (*rechate*), and *forloyn* mean both the act itself and the corresponding signal upon the hunter's horn, so *strake* means not only 'proceed, go homeward,' but 'sound the signal for proceeding,' in this case going home after the killing of the hart. The situation is explained by this passage from the *Master of Game* (ch. xxxiv, pp. 178-9):

And when there is nought left [that is after the rewarding of the hounds] then shall the lord, if he wishes, or else the master of the game or in his absence whoso is greatest next him stroke in this wise, that is to say blow four motes and stynt not half an Ave Maria, and then blow other four motes a little longer than the first four motes. And thus should no wight stroke but when the hart is slain with strength. And when one of the aforesaid hath thus blown, then should the grooms couple up the hounds and draw homeward fair and soft. And all the rest of the hunters should stroke in this wise: "Trut, trut, tro-ro-row, tro-ro-row," and four motes all of one length, not too long and not too short. And otherwise should no hart hunter stroke from thenceforth till they go to bed.<sup>24</sup>

That such signaling was kept up on the journey home is not only and these are enumerated as follows: "First to the uncoupling, to the seeing, to the rechate, to the flight, to the death, and to strake." Here to *strake*, not to the *strake* it will be noticed, is the measure blown as the hunters set out homeward after the hunt, the meaning derived from the literal one of going homeward itself. To *strake* also meant 'to proceed to the field,' or 'from covert to covert,' as shown by Turbervile's "measures" which gives the accompanying signals upon the horn. In Malory, too the *rechate* can not be a 'recall' as ordinarily defined, but the rallying to the chase as I have defined it.

<sup>24</sup> This passage is one of the chapters original with the Duke of York, and thus clearly gives the English as distinct from the French practice.

implied by the *Master of Game*, but clearly stated in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* 1363-4 and 1922-3. I quote the latter:

And þenne þay helden to home, for hit watz nies nyst,  
Strakande ful stoutly in hor store hornes.

Thus the noise of the hunt, which has been going on at a distance, again comes within hearing of the poet, and the character of the measure heard shows that the hunt is over for the day.<sup>28</sup>

Again, another measure on the horn indicated that the king would hunt no more, as the *Master of Game* explains (ch. xxxvi, pp. 194-5):

And if the King will hunt no more then should the master of his game, if the King will not blow, blow a mote and stroke with a mote in the middle. And the sergeant, or whoso bloweth next him and no man else, should blow the first mote but only the middle, and so every man as often as he likes to stroke, if they have obtained that which they have hunted for. And the middle mote should not be blown save by him that bloweth next the master. And thereby may men know, as they hear men stroke homeward, whether they have well sped or not.

Thus Chaucer, still in the wood with the sorrowing prince, but hearing the appropriate signal for the return after the hunt, could add the lines beginning,

With that methoughte that the king  
Gan [quikly] homeward for to ryde.

Thus, too, unity is given to the poem, not only through the character of the interview between the poet and prince, but through an entirely proper and explainable return to the hunt with which the dream began.

The castle to which the king rode was, as we know, a dream castle, the description playing upon the names of John of Gaunt, Lancaster, Blanche, and the Richmond connected with both John and his duchess in the period when the poem was written.<sup>29</sup> The

<sup>28</sup> Turberville figures "A strake of nyne, to drawe home the companie. With twoo windes."

<sup>29</sup> In speaking of it as a dream castle I do not mean that there may not have been reminiscences of an actual castle or castles which Chaucer may have known. See Tupper in *Mod. Lang. Notes* xxxi, 250, 442; xxxii, 54.

castle suggested the bell, the stroke of twelve, and Chaucer awoke at midnight, to find the book he had been reading and resolve upon making his most important early poem.

One minor bit of possible realism remains to be mentioned. The hunt of which Chaucer dreamed is placed in May. Now the frequent use of May by the medieval poets is known to have been to some extent a convention. Here, for example, if the *Book of the Duchess* was written in 1369 as usually assumed, the opening of the scene in May must have been merely conventional. Yet it is not impossible that the poem was not composed before the spring of 1370. John of Gaunt was not home from command of the French expedition until November. If he requested Chaucer to write the poem, as Professor Kittredge suggests, the composition could not have been undertaken until late in the year, and the completion of the poem may well have reached into 1370. Or possibly the request of the bereaved husband was not made in the ecstasy of his grief, but some months after the Duchess Blanche had passed away. Be that as it may, the hunting of the hart in the month assigned may have had a realistic basis. The *Master of Game* (ch. iii, p. 35) informs us:

The harts have more power to run well from the entry of May into St. John's tide [June 24] than at any other time; for then they have put on new flesh and new hair and new heads for [that is, on account of] the new herbs and the new coming out of trees and of fruits, and be not too heavy. For as yet they have not recovered their grease, neither within nor without, nor their heads, wherefore they be much lighter and swifter.

There is therefore some reason to believe Chaucer was as realistic in this as in other respects, when describing the hunting scene of this poem.

Nor is it wholly impossible Chaucer has introduced still another realistic touch in his May hunt. The early failure of the hounds to keep the scent, the ease with which the hart had succeeded in his ruse, may have some relation to the time in which the hunt is placed. In the chapter "Of Running Hounds and their Nature," the *Master of Game* informs us that keeping the scent was more difficult in this very period. He says (ch. xiv, p. 112):

Also the hounds scent worse from May until St. John's time than in any other time of all the year, for as I shall say the burnt heath and the burning of fields taketh the scent from the hounds of the beasts that they hunt. Also in that time the herbs be best, and flowers in their smelling, each one in their kind, and when the hounds hope to scent the beast that they hunt, the sweet smelling of the herbs takes the scent of the beast from them.

I make no attempt to press these latter points, but it must be admitted the coincidence of these two characteristics of a May hunt might have had its basis in the same realism that has seemed so clear in the whole description of the hunting scene in the *Book of the Duchess*, and the realism that will appear in other passages in Chaucer's poetry still to be discussed.

The lines in the *Book of the Duchess* are the most explicit of those in which Chaucer deals with hunting. Yet here and there in other places are shorter passages relating to the subject, and in them some technical terms of the hunt, so that these also warrant some words of interpretation. The most considerable of these references are in the *Knight's Tale* which, although based on Boccaccio's *Teseide*, shows great freedom in the use of its source. Indeed, in the parts of the *Tale* with which I shall deal there are scarcely more than hints of the original. Chaucer has represented hunting as he knew it in his native land.

For example, in lines 780-88 (*C. T. A.* 1638-46), the allusion to Arcite's likeness to a lion, as he comes to fight with Palamon, is made more specific in relation to northern latitudes by addition of the bear.<sup>27</sup> The scene is then worked out more realistically as an actual hunting incident by the introduction of the spear, the standing at the gap in the wood (*gappe*, twice mentioned) through which the bear—him of 793 must refer to that animal rather than to the lion—comes rushing,

And breketh bothe bowes and the leves.

From him there is now no escape, and hunter or hunted must succumb as Arcite makes clear by his remark. So, to the likeness of Palamon to a lion and Arcite to a tiger in the fight, Chaucer has added, in line 800-1 (*C. T. A.* 1658-9), the realistic figure that would appeal to Englishmen more readily:

<sup>27</sup> Compare *Teseide* B'k vii, st. 106, 119.

As wylde bores gone they to smyte,  
That frothen whyte as foom for ire wood.

A still more important passage for which there is little basis in the *Teseide* (K. T. 815-37, C. T. A. 1673-95)<sup>28</sup> describes the coming of Theseus, the mighty hunter,

For after Mars he serveth now Diane.

One can but wonder, from the applicability of the whole scene, whether this is not also a reminiscence of Edward III and his characteristic fondness for war and hunting. In this passage we first meet the hunting term *grete hert* 'great hart, hart worthy to be hunted,' a compound not recognized by Skeat and the *NED.* but frequent in the *Master of Game* and not uncommon in other places. For instance chapters xxiii-v of the *Master of Game* all deal with "How a Man should know a Great Hart," and the following quotation (p. 131) indicates the specific use:

And also if a man find such a hart [a 'great hart and an old one' as already described], and men ask him what hart it is, he may answer that it is a hart chaceable of ten that should not be refused.

The compound is again used by Chaucer in line 823, when he mentions the "joye and appetyt" of Theseus,

To been himself the grete hertes bane.<sup>29</sup>

Attention has already been called to the May time as one peculiarly appropriate for hunting the hart, so that it is not strange Theseus was especially "desirous" of hunting "the grete hert in May." Thus there is no lack of realism in his pursuing his own

<sup>28</sup> See *Teseide* v, 77-8. The scene in its distinctive references is practically all Chaucer's.

<sup>29</sup> The *NED.* gives to *great*, under 7, the meaning 'grown up, full grown,' but cites first a quotation from Caxton's *Charles the Great*. The use in the above compound falls under that meaning, and the example in Chaucer is one of the earliest I have found. Compare also *Destr. of Troy* 13557:

A grete herte in a grove, goond hym one;

and Gower, *Conf. Amant.* I, 2299,

The grete hert anon was founde.

Turberville (ch. 37, p. 100) has *great deer* in the same sense: "But if he find Slot that seem of a great Deare, he may say a Hart of ten without any addition of words."

purpose, and still coming upon Arcite and Palamon, the former of whom had gone out for another reason,

For to doon his observaunce to May,  
Remembring on the poynt of his desyre.

Again, it is perhaps a knowledge of English hunting that made Chaucer represent Theseus as riding "to the launde," or plain,

For thider was the hert wont have his flight.

This, at least, would fit in with what the *Master of Game* tells us in chapter iii, p. 36:

And all the time from rutting time [middle of Sept. to middle of Oct.] into Whitsunday great deer and old will be found in the plains.

The "clothed al in grene" of line 828, applying to Theseus, the Queen and Emily and for which there is nothing in the original *Teseide*, is doubtless another realistic touch of Chaucer's time. By the time of Turberville hunting dress seems to have changed or been less regarded, but his reference to the matter is proof of the earlier custom: He says in chap. 38, p. 101:

Phoebus<sup>80</sup> sayth that they ought to be clad in greene when they hunt the Hart or Bucke, and in russet when they hunt the Bore, but that is of no great importance, for I remitte the coloures to the fantasies of men.

In the same passage of the *Knight's Tale* also occurs the specific hunting phrase "han a cours . . . with houndes," that is 'have a run (at a hart) with hounds,' for which this Chaucer quotation is the first cited by the *NED*.

In lines 1290-94 (*C. T. A.* 2148-52) Chaucer is responsible for introducing the English hunting dogs, the "whyte alaunts" "as

<sup>80</sup> Gaston de Foix, called from his manly beauty Gaston Phoebus, wrote the *Livre de Chasse* on which the Duke of York's *Master of Game* was based.

The Knight's "yeman" in the *Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales* (100 ff.), whom Chaucer guesses to be "a forster" and is shown to be a hunter by his bow and arrows, his horn and "bawdrik," has also his "cote and hood of grene." So the apparently similar "gay yeman" of the *Friar's Tale* (*C. T. D.* 1380 ff.), besides his similar bow and arrows, has his "courtepy of grene," while his hat was probably also of that color, though "with frenges blake."



grete as any steer,"<sup>31</sup> to the description of which the *Master of Game* gave chapter xvi. He confirms Chaucer regarding their color by saying (p. 116):

And though there be alauntes of all hues, the true hue of a good alaunte, and that which is most common, should be white, with black spots about the ears.

That the *mozel* 'muzzle' of 1293 was also important for such an animal, the chapter fully implies, especially the sentence,

In all manner of ways alauntes are treacherous and evil understanding, and more foolish and more harebrained than any other kind of hound.

Such traits the author confirms by saying, "For men have seen alauntes slay their masters." The "colors of gold" on the alaunts are quite in accord with what we have been told of those sometimes placed on valuable lymers. The "torets," a word first used by Chaucer, were swivels to allow free play of the leash as already explained, not 'small rings on the collar of a dog' as in Skeat's glossary.<sup>32</sup> One further touch of English hunting interests occurs in describing the feast given by Theseus, before the tournament, to Palamon, Arcite and their supporters from many countries. This feast the poet refrains from describing at length, but among other details alludes to

<sup>31</sup> On this passage A. S. Cook has an elaborate and interesting note in "The Last Months of Chaucer's Earliest Patron" (*Trans. of Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences* xxi, 128 ff.). He there suggests that Chaucer first saw alaunts at the wedding feast of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, in Milan June 5, 1368. Apart from the uncertainty about Chaucer's being at that feast, the suggestion rests on the idea that there could have been no alaunts in England before 1381 when the *Knight's Tale* was written. The latter fact seems to me as unlikely as that there were no lymers in England before Chaucer wrote the *Book of the Duchess*, because Chaucer in that poem is the first to have used the name in English. At any rate our main purpose here is to point out that the allusion to the alaunts is original with Chaucer, and that it apparently falls in with his considerable knowledge of medieval hunting.

<sup>32</sup> Skeat does refer to the other form of the word, *turret* found in the description of the *Astrolabe*, and a note by Warton "which seems to make the word equivalent to a swivel." The *NED.* defines it clearly as 'a swivel ring on a dog's collar.' The word *toret* (*turret*) 'little tower' had acquired this secondary meaning because the ring was set and moved in a little tower-like structure fixed in the collar itself. For these two examples in Chaucer the meaning should be, 'a swivel ring set in a tower-like form.'



What haukes sitten on the perche above,  
What houndes ligen on the floor adoun,

as they perhaps often did in Edward Third's castle halls. The *Teseide* (vi, st. 8) mentions hounds, falcons, goshawks, but the scene in this and other particulars is essentially English.

A brief hunting scene occurs in the *Franklin's Tale* (C. T. F. 1189-97), where Aurelius is shown by the magician:

Forestes, parkes ful of wilde deer;  
Ther saugh he hertes with hir hornes hye,—  
He saugh of hem an hondred slayn with houndes,  
And somme with arwes blede of bittre woundes.

Then follow three lines devoted to hawking, with which we are not dealing in this paper. The hunting part is true to English practice, deer being run down by the hounds or killed by bowmen stationed at various places along the course of the hunt. Of the use of the bow *La Chace dou Serf* tells us (Dryden's translation, p. 130):

Make your varlets carry bows, for no one ought to kill the hart with a sword after he is frayed [that is, after the hart's antlers are well grown, implying full growth of the animal]. I advise you that you shoot from afar.

The Franklin himself, it will be remembered (*Prol.* 347-8),

After the sondry sesons of the yeer  
So chaunged he his mete and his soper,

a change doubtless partly dependent upon hunting.

Among significant references to hunting in the *Canterbury Tales* one must not forget the description of the Monk, since with total disregard of the canons of the church,

He yaf nat of that text a pulled hen,  
That seith that hunters been nat holy men.<sup>33</sup>

He was, we remember (*Prol.* 166-92),

An out-rydere that lovede venerye;

Therefore he was a pricasour aright;  
Grehoundes he hadde as swifte as fowel in flight;

<sup>33</sup> Compare my article "Some of Chaucer's Lines on the Monk," *Mod. Phil.* i, 105.

Of priking and of hunting for the hare  
Was al his lust, for no cost wolde he spare.

Here *pricasour*, for which Chaucer is alone responsible, whatever its exact etymology must mean 'hunterman,' as the *NED.* suggests with a 'perhaps,' rather than merely a 'hard rider' as Skeat defines it. So *priking* is not simply 'riding,' but 'riding in the hunt,' and here more specifically 'tracking (the hare).'<sup>84</sup> Probably the use of the word in this latter meaning depends on the swiftness of the hare in her flight, for the *Master of Game* (ch. xxxv, p. 181) calls the hare "the king of all venery." Turberville, in some verses before chap. 58, p. 160, makes her say,

For running swift, and holding out at length,  
I beare the bell above all other beasts.

Very properly, therefore, Chaucer provided the Monk with greyhounds "as swifte as fowel in flight."

The Monk's fondness for hunting the hare, rather than some other animal, depended not on her swiftness alone. The Duke of York not only introduced the hare first among animals to be hunted, but says (ch. ii, p. 14):

Much good sport and liking is the hunting of her, more than that of any other beast that any man knoweth. . . . And that for five reasons. The one is, for her hunting lasteth all the year as with running hounds without any sparing, and this is not with all the other beasts. And also men hunt at her both in the morning and in the evening. . . . That other reason is . . . for hounds must need find her by mastery, and quest point by point. . . . And when she is started it is a fair thing. And then it is a fair thing to slay her with strength of hounds, for she runneth long and ginnously [that is, cunningly].

Turberville is equally strong in praise of hare hunting (ch. 59, p. 162):

I might well maintaine that of all chases the Hare maketh greatest pastime and pleasure, and sheweth most cunning in hunt-

<sup>84</sup> See *Master of Game* ch. xvi, p. 116: "If a man prick a horse," that is, 'hunt a horse.' The noun *pricking* meant 'the footprints of a hare,' as in *M. of G.* ch. xxxv, p. 185. For *pricasour* we may also compare Turberville's "a good priker or huntsman on horsebacke" (ch. 38, p. 101).

ing, and is meekest for gentlemen of all other huntings, for that they may find them at all times and hunt them at most seasons of the yeare, and that with small charges.

Twici's *Art of Venerie* begins with the hare, and explains it as follows (Dryden's modernization of the Middle English text, p. 19):

Now will we begin with the Hare. 'And why, Sir, will you begin with the Hare, rather than with any other beast?' I will tell you; because she is the most marvellous beast which is on this earth; . . . and since all the fine terms [of hunting] are based upon it (that is, upon the chase of the hare).

Again, Chaucer follows English custom of the period when he has the Monk possess "grehoundes" for coursing the hare. The *Master of Game* says explicitly (ch. ii, p. 22):

Men slay hares with greyhounds and with running hounds by strength as here in England, but elsewhere they slay them also with small pockets, and with purse-nets, and with small nets with hare-pipes, and with long nets, and with small cords. . . . But, truly, I trow, no good hunter would slay them so for any good.<sup>35</sup>

The modern editors of the *Master of Game* remind us, too (see Hare, *App.* p. 122), that hunting customs have changed since Chaucer's time, greyhounds being no longer used in hare hunting.

Some minor allusions in the *Canterbury Tales* indicate Chaucer's acquaintance with specific terms of hunting, or with the lore of game animals. In the *Shipman's Tale*, line 194 (*C. T. B.* 1294) reads,

As in a forme sit a wery hare,

where *forme* is the hunter's name for the lair of a hare. Skeat has no note, but Turberville explains in his chapter 59 "Of the Subtilties of an Hare when she is Runne and Hunted" (p. 165):

I have also seene an Hare runne and stande up two houres before a kennell of houndes, and then she hath started and rayased an other freshe Hare out of her forme and set her selfe downe therin.

So in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* 517 (*C. T. B.* 4527) it is said of the fox,

For yet ne was ther no man that him sewed,

<sup>35</sup> The expressions "As here in England" and "Truly I trow etc." are the Duke of York's additions to the original of Gaston de Foix.

where *sewed* 'sued' is used in its specific sense of 'pursued as game.'

Passages in the *Friar's Tale* 71 ff. (C. T. D. 1369 ff.) and the *Merchant's Tale* 769-70 (C. T. E. 2013-14) show Chaucer using another hunting term for the first time, a *dog for the bow*. They are, in the order above:

For in this world nis dogge for the bowe,  
That can an hurt deer from an hool y-knowe  
Bet than this Somnour knew a sly lechour,  
Or an avouter, or a paramour;

and of Damien the young lover,

And eek to Januarie he gooth as lowe,  
As ever dide a dogge for the bowe.

Skeat's notes on "dogge for the bowe" in these passages are valuable, but leave something to be desired. Such a dog was especially trained to accompany the bowman on a deer hunt, in order to follow and bring down a stricken deer only. Unlike a running hound, he must be absolutely subservient to his master, as silent as a lymer, making his attack only when so ordered, and only upon a deer already wounded by the bowman's arrow. The latter careful discrimination is indicated in the first passage, with figurative application to the Summoner. The quality of subservience is shown in the second quotation, to illustrate which the *CtDict.* refers to T. L. O. Davies, *Supplementary English Glossary* (1881), and says: "Such dogs, being well trained and obedient, were taken to typify humble and subservient people."

In the *Maunciple's Tale* 79-82 (C. T. H. 183-6) is a noteworthy bit of folklore regarding one of the game animals:

A she-wolf hath also a vileins kinde;  
The lewedeste wolf that she may finde,  
Or least of reputacion wol she take  
In tyme whan hir lust to han a make.

This allusion Skeat asserts with great definiteness is taken from *Romance of the Rose* 7799-7804. Such may be the source but, as Skeat admits, it occurs in an entirely different part of that work

from the lines used in the *Maunciple's Tale* just before. It is interesting, therefore, that a fuller account of this supposed characteristic of the she-wolf occurs in the *Master of Game*, chap. vii, pp. 54-5, so that this bit of animal lore may have been known to Chaucer, as to hunter and forester in England, quite apart from any literary source.<sup>86</sup>

Apart from the *Book of the Duchess* and the *Canterbury Tales*, some significant references to hunting are to be found in *Troilus and Cresceide*. In Book ii, lines 962-4 the cynical Pandarus replies to the question of Troilus "Shal I now wepe or singe" by saying:

Her love of freendship have I to the wonne,  
And also hath she leyd hir feyth to borwe;  
Algate a foot is hameled of thy sorwe.

Skeat's note explains *hameled* as 'cut off, docked,' but adds in his glossary 'it refers to the mutilation of dogs that were found to be pursuing game secretly. They were mutilated by cutting off a foot.' This is apparently not quite accurate, since the process of hameling (hambling) was rather to cut off the balls of the feet,<sup>87</sup> and is therefore less applicable to the single foot of the *Troilus* reference. Skeat's explanation would make the line mean that "sorwe" as a hound could no longer pursue Troilus so effectively, and in that case the line seems to have little direct connection with the preceding. Indeed, Skeat indicates its separation by a period after *borwe*. I

<sup>86</sup> The allusion to the Summoner as "wood were as an hare" (*Friar's Tale* 29, *C. T. D.* 1327), slight as is its relation to hunting, seems to be the earliest use of the expression "mad as a hare" "mad as a March hare." The latter form is first recorded as used by More in 1529. Doubtless the idea is connected with that of melancholy attributed to the hare. For example Turbervile says: "The Hare first taught us the use of the hearbe called wilde Succorye, which is verie excellent for those whiche are disposed to be melancholike; she hir selfe is one of the moste melancholike beastes that is."

The proverb in *Troilus* iv, 1373-4,

men seyn that hard it is  
The wolf ful and the wether hool to have,

also has its basis in the animal lore of a game animal. More remote is that of *Troilus* iv, 1453-4,

men seyn that one thenketh the bere,  
But al another thenketh his ledere.

Both these proverbs are original with Chaucer. They are not in his source.

<sup>87</sup> See *NED.*, *C. Dict.*, etc. under *hamble*.

suggest the possibility of another explanation. The deer was sometimes *hameled*, as in training of young hounds,<sup>88</sup> so that it is possible the line means a foot of thy sorrow (cause of thy sorrow) has been hameled. That is Creseide has already given her friendship and "leyd hir feyth to borwe," thus becoming *hameled* and more easily pursued. See the figure of pursuit in line 959. In any case, *hameled* is still another hunting term used by our poet.

The interpretation I have just given of line 964 seems more likely, because Pandarus again uses a hunting figure in lines 1535-36 of the same book. He there still further encourages Troilus by saying:

Lo, holde thee at thy triste cloos, and I  
Shal wel the deer unto the bowe dryve.

From this, *tryst* (*trist*) as a hunting term must mean, not simply an appointed place as usually given, but a place at which the bowman stood to shoot the deer. The *Master of Game* (chap. xxxv, p. 190) uses both "standing" and "tryste," as in "And when the king is at his standing or tryste, whichever he prefers." The former seems to be defined in the reference on p. 189 to "the king's standing, if the king would stand with his bow," while on the next page we are told,

that the fewterers ought to make fair lodges of green boughs at the tryste to keep the king and queen and ladies and gentle-women, and also the greyhounds, from the sun and bad weather.

*Tryst* would seem to mean, then, not only the place of a bowman as in Chaucer, the "standing" in native English, but also a more elaborate place appointed for king and queen when he took a less active part in the hunt.<sup>89</sup> Both these examples are original with Chaucer.

In the *Legend of Good Women* 1188-1217, describing the hunt by Dido and Æneas and based on the *Æneid* iv, 129-59, Chaucer has

<sup>88</sup> See Turberville ch. 14, p. 36.

<sup>89</sup> Minor allusions to hunting in *Troilus* occur in iii, 1779-81:

In tyme of trewe on haukinge wolde he ryde,  
Or elles hunten boor, bere, or leoun,—  
The smale beestes leet he gon bisyde.

but this is from Boccaccio's *Filostrato*. In v, 1238, where Troilus dreams of "a boor with tuskes grete," the dream notion is Chaucer's, as well as the kissing of the lady in his arms. The boar, however, belongs to Boccaccio.

unified the scene, and in some particulars made it conform to English hunting practice. While nets and spears are mentioned (1190) as by Virgil,<sup>40</sup> the goats and the boar of the Latin poet are omitted, and the hunt is mainly confined to the hart—the appropriate game for a royal hunt—as in the *Book of the Duchess* and the *Knight's Tale*. Here, too, Chaucer again uses the specific hunting term *find* for the discovery of the game animal, and adds at once his only example of true hunting cries:<sup>41</sup>

The herd of hertes founden is anon,  
With "Hey, go bet, prik thou, lat goon,"<sup>42</sup>

Nor must we forget, among the allusions to hunting in the *Legend of Good Women*, some of the gifts which Dido gave to Æneas. None were too good for him, we are told in lines 1114 ff., and among them

Ne gentil hautein faucon heronere,  
Ne hound for hert or wilde boor or dere,

the latter especially an appropriate gift for a royal hunt.

There are, besides, a number of minor allusions to hunting in

<sup>40</sup> Nets were sometimes used in England, in order to confine the hunt within certain boundaries, as indicated in a footnote to *Master of Game* p. 30.

<sup>41</sup> Very different these from the cries and shouting when the fox is pursued by the widow, her daughters, and "many another man," by the dogs of the farm and the maid Malkin, in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* (C. T. B. 4565 ff.).

<sup>42</sup> The punctuation should show, as does that of the Globe edition, that the hunting cries proper conclude with this line. I suggest also that the next two lines are specifically what the "yonge folk," as distinct from their elders, boastingly say, and that this fact should be more adequately indicated by new marks of quotation inclosing lines 1214-5, as perhaps a dash after the latter. Chaucer then concludes the account of the royal hunt with "and up ('upon that') they (the elders, not the boastful youth) kille

These wilde hertes and han hem at hir wille."

The *bestys wilde* or *wild(e) bestes* of some MSS. may be explained as a misunderstanding of this conclusion, as if it belonged to what is said by both old and young. Chaucer, I take it, meant to emphasize the hart hunting, and as I have pointed out above no other animals are included in the description by him. Besides, this foolish boast was surely not spoken by Dido or "this Troyan by her syde" while actually engaged in hunting the royal game.

The hunting cry "Hey" occurs in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (1158), where with "war" it is used to hold in the hinds. "Go bet, prik thou" are terms of encouragement, as Skeat says, but they seem here to apply specifically to the setting on of the "finders," while "lat goon" must be the cry at the uncoupling of the running hounds after the finding of the hart.



Chaucer. In the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* (B. 131), the "smale foules"

That from the panter and the net ben scaped  
rejoice in their escape, and sing "the fouler we defye." The Host in the *Canterbury Tales* addresses the poet in a hunting figure (C. T. B. 1886):

Thou lokest as thou woldest finde an hare,  
For ever upon the ground I see thee stare.

Sir Thopas, and the Marquis Walter in the *Clerk's Tale* were hunters, as indicated in lines B. 1926-9, E. 81, 234.<sup>43</sup> The Christmas time in the *Franklin's Tale* (F. 1254) brings "braun of the tusked swyn," a product of the hunt. The Maunciple uses a figure from hunting in his *Prologue* (H. 77), and the Phebus of his *Tale*, Apollo the archer (H. 108, 129), is made to kill his wife with bow and arrow, which he later breaks in grief when he realizes he has used them so disastrously (H. 264, 269).

The illustrations and interpretations of this paper indicate that Chaucer knew much more of medieval hunting practice than has usually been supposed. It shows, too, that he used hunting terms in their strict hunting senses, in other words with a realism quite in keeping with that shown in so many other particulars throughout his work. Once again did the poet return to the subject in what might have been an extremely interesting presentation. When the Monk has wearied his audience with his doleful tales of misfortune, and the Knight has stopped him with "good sir, namore of this," the Host suggested something more in keeping with the Monk's character (B. 3995):

Sir, sey somewhat of hunting I yow preye.

But for some reason Chaucer was not ready with a hunting tale, and the Monk is allowed to put us off:

"Nay," quod this Monk, "I have no lust to pleye."

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

<sup>43</sup> The humorous pursuit of the fox which carried off Chanticleer in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* contains no technical hunting language.



A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERUVIAN LITERATURE  
(1821-1919)

A KNOWLEDGE of the literary manifestations of Latin America is now recognized as an important part of Romance Language study, and a social and commercial asset to all who travel south of the Rio Grande. As yet we are handicapped by a scarcity of Latin American books in our libraries and by a lack of manuals of literature and articles in scholarly magazines. Notable efforts to fill this want include Coester's *Bibliography of Spanish American Literature* (The Romanic Review, Jan.-March, 1912) and his *Literary History of Spanish America*—the latter recognized both here and in South America as an admirable introduction to the study of Spanish American letters. Other contributions are P. H. Goldsmith's *A Brief Bibliography of Books in English, Spanish and Portuguese, relating to the republics commonly called Latin American*, New York (Macmillan) 1915; E. C. Hills' list of Spanish American novels (*Hispania*, May, 1919); C. K. Jones' *Suggested Reading in Spanish American Prose* (*Hispania*, Oct. 1920); and Isaac Goldberg's *Studies in Spanish-American Literature*, New York (Brentano) 1920, which discusses at length the Modernista movement and sympathetically studies five of the leading literary figures.

The student who wishes to make an intensive study of one country is held back by the lack of first hand material and is perhaps misled by a seeming scarcity of literary production. In the case of Peru with which this article deals few manuals are to be found even in Spanish. So far as I am aware only two histories of Peruvian literature have thus far been written. José de la Riva Agüero's *Carácter de la literatura del Perú independiente* (1907) was the first in the field. Written as a thesis for the degree of *bachiller* it has attracted much favorable comment in South America. This book is now a literary curiosity and cannot be secured at any price in the book stores of Lima. It was, however, published in the *Revista Universitaria* (1907-8) of the University of San

Marcos and those interested may possibly obtain the files of the magazine. A more recent book is Dr. Javier Prado's *El genio de la lengua y de la literatura castellana y sus caracteres en la historia intelectual del Perú*, Lima, 1918. It deals with the whole field of Peruvian literature, though its brevity (194 pages) naturally prevents a detailed treatment of the lesser writers. This volume is obtainable and will prove a valuable addition to any library.

In both the above mentioned books the footnotes are not assembled in any formal bibliography. Coester's Bibliography is admittedly incomplete and his history of Spanish American literature likewise lacks an extensive bibliography. In this field the work of Medina with its elaborate detail leaves little to be desired in the Colonial period, and René-Moreno's efforts have added invaluable notes on later periods. Both these studies, however, are relatively rare books and are not always accessible.

In the notes which follow it is intended to supplement to a certain extent the material now available. Properly speaking it is rather a list of books than a formal bibliography. It includes works that the writer found in the National Library in Lima, the private library of Dr. Javier Prado, and the collections of the University of San Marcos, the Arequipa Club and the University of Cuzco.<sup>1</sup> No titles have been gleaned from histories of literature, bibliographies or catalogues and no claim of completeness is made except that of including the books actually in these libraries in 1919. From the list are omitted titles of works of a purely scientific nature; mention being made of history, biography, essays, epistolary correspondence, prose fiction and poetry in the period 1821-1919.<sup>2</sup> The footnotes contain references to critical or biographical articles in books or magazines of Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. No reference is made in the notes, however, to the valuable book published in Lima under the auspices of the Hispanic Society and edited by W. B. Parker, *Peruvians of To-day* (1919). This is

<sup>1</sup> The bibliography of Ricardo Palma includes titles of books and publications to be found in his private library. Access to this was given me by his daughter, Angélica Palma, who assisted in compiling the data.

<sup>2</sup> In the case of Ricardo Palma philological studies are also included. This part of the bibliography is, I think, practically complete.

one of a series now being published<sup>3</sup> containing brief biographies of living men. To the student of modern Spanish-American literature it is of great importance, including as it does in the case of authors the principal facts of their lives, and, as far as space permits, a list of their works. Nor is mention made in the notes of the more extensive compilation of biographies, Paz Soldan's *Diccionario biográfico de Peruanos contemporaneos*, Lima, 1917, a book more difficult to obtain and somewhat out of date.

In closing this introduction the writer wishes to express his appreciation of the unfailing courtesies extended him by Dr. Javier Prado y Ugarteche, Rector of the University of San Marcos. To Señor Urbano A. Revoredo, Librarian of the University, and to Señor Carlos A. Romero of the National Library, he owes generous thanks for office and library facilities. He is especially indebted to Señorita Angélica Palma, without whose assistance the bibliography of Ricardo Palma would have been incomplete. Thanks are also due to Professor J. D. M. Ford who was so kind as to read the manuscript copy.

A list of the abbreviations which appear in the footnotes follows:

- El Ateneo.—El Ateneo. Lima. 1900-1908. 9 vols.
- El Ateneo de Lima.—El Ateneo de Lima. Publicación quincenal. Lima. 1886-1889. 8 vols.
- Est. de Chile.—Estrella de Chile. Periódico semanal, literario, religioso i político. Santiago de Chile. 1868-79. 16 vols.
- Mercurio Peruano.—Revista mensual de ciencias sociales y letras. Director, Victor Andrés Belaunde. Lima. July, 1918. 3 vols. to Dec. 1919.
- Miscelánea.—Miscelánea literaria, política i religiosa por Zorababel Rodríguez. Santiago. Imp. del Independiente. 1873. 2 vols.
- Miscelánea biog.—Miscelánea biográfica americana por Pedro Pablo Figueroa. Santiago de Chile. Imp. de la Union. 1888.
- Pag. trun.—Páginas truncas por Pedro Pablo Figueroa. Santiago de Chile. Imp. de la Union. 1887.
- Rev. de Artes y Letras.—Revista de Artes y Letras. Santiago. 1884-90. 18 vols.

<sup>3</sup> The following have already appeared: *Cubans of To-day*, *Peruvians of To-day*, *Bolivians of To-day*, and *Chileans of To-day*. In preparation,—*Argentines of To-day* and *Uruguayans of To-day*.

- Rev. Chil.—Revista chilena publicada bajo la dirección de Miguel Luis Amunátegui i Diego Barros Arana. Santiago. 1875-80. 16 vols.
- Rev. de D. H. y L.—Revista de derecho, historia y letras. Dirigida por E. S. Zeballos. Buenos Aires. 1890- . 65 vols. to 1920.
- Rev. de Lima.—Revista de Lima. Publicación quincenal. Lima. 1858-61. 5 vols.
- Rev. del Pacíf.—Revista del Pacífico. Publicación quincenal. Valparaíso. 1858-61. 5 vols.
- Rev. Univ.—Revista Universitaria. Órgano de la Universidad Mayor de San Marcos.
- Rev. de S. A.—Revista de Sud-América. Anales de la Sociedad de Amigos de La Ilustración. Valparaíso. 1861-3. 4 vols.

## ANTHOLOGIES

- Corona poética ofrecida al pueblo peruano el 28 de julio de 1866.* Lima. Imp. dirigida por J. R. Montemayor. 1866. (Patriotic poems collected by Juana Manuela Gorriti.)
- Lira. Colección de poesías. Publicadas en la Edición Literaria de El Callao en el segundo semestre de 1885.* Callao. Imp. de El Callao. 1886.
- Lira ariquepeña. Colección de las más selectas poesías de los vates antiguos y modernos.* Arequipa. [Imp. de Manuel Pío Chaves.] 1889.
- Parnaso peruano, o repertorio de poesías nacionales antiguas y modernas precididas del retrato y biografía de su autor por José Toribio Polo.* Lima. Imp. de la Epoca. 1862. (Contains poems by Bernadino Ruiz, Manuel Bartolome Ferreyros, Miguel del Carpio, and Maria Perez.)
- Parnaso peruano.* José Domingo Cortés. Valparaíso. Imp. Albrón de Cox y Taylor. 1871.
- Parnaso peruano ordenado por V. García Calderón.* Barcelona. Casa. Edit. Maucci. [No date.]
- Pliegos al viento.* Arequipa. Tip. Quiróz. 1908. (Prose selections.)
- Voces multiples (Las.)* Pablo Abril de Vivero—Hernan C. Bellido—Antonio G. Garland—Alfredo González Prada—Federico More—Alberto Ulloa Sotomayor—Abraham Valdelomar—Felix del Valle. Lima Lib. Francesa Scientifica E. Rosay. [No date.] (A collection of six to ten poems by each of the men mentioned.)

AUTHORS

**Alayza y Paz Soldán, Luis.**

- *La sed eterna. Versos.* Lima. Impreso en los talleres de la Revista. 1911.

**Albareda, Ramón.**

- *Una escena en Bellavista. Comedia en un acto y en prosa. Representada en el teatro de Arequipa á beneficio de los niños Emilia y Eduardo Marín.* Arequipa. Imp. de La Revista del Sur. 1886.

**Althaus, Clemente.<sup>1</sup>**

- *Poesías patrióticas y religiosas.* Paris. A. Laplace. 1862.  
— *Poesías varias.* Paris. A. Laplace. 1862.  
— *Obras poéticas.* 1852-1871. Lima. Imp. del universo, de Carlos Prince. 1872.

**Amézaga, Carlos Germán.<sup>2</sup>**

- *Cactus. Prologo de Pablo Patrón.* Lima. Imp. de la Merced. 1891.  
— *La Invasión. Leyenda histórica. Premiada por El Ateneo de Lima.* Lima. Imp. de la Merced. 1891. (Appeared in the Ateneo de Lima, VI, 109-34.)  
— *Poetas mexicanos.* Buenos Aires. Imp. de Pablo E. Coni e hijos. 1896.  
— *Sofía Perowskaia. Drama en tres actos y en prosa.* Lima. Lib. é Imp. Gil. 1899.  
— *El Juez del Crimen. Episodio dramático en un acto y en prosa.* Lima. Lib. é Imp. Gil. 1900.

**Aramburo y Machado, Mariano.**

- *Monógrafos oratorios.* Madrid. Imp. y Est. de Ricardo Fe. 1906.

**Aréstegui, Narciso.**

- *El padre Horán. Escenas de la vida del Cuzco.* Lima. Imp. del Comercio. 1848.  
— *El angel salvador. Leyenda histórica.* Lima. Imp. de la Patria. 1872.

<sup>1</sup> Ref. Carlos Augusto Salaverry, *Clemente Althaus, Poesías patrióticas y religiosas.* Rev. de Lima, VIII, 146-53.—Alfredo González Prada, *Clemente Althaus.* Rev. Univ., 1911, I, 397-419, 460-87.—Eugenio Larraburre y Unanue, *Estudios literarios.* Clemente Althaus. Lima. 1867.—Zorababel Rodríguez, *Obras poéticas de Clemente Althaus, 1852-1871.* Miscelánea, II, 93-122 and in La Est. de Chile, V, 481-5, 515-22.

<sup>2</sup> Ref. Carlos Rey de Castro, *Carlos G. Amézaga y su libro, Poetas Mexicanos.* Buenos Aires, Imp. Atenas. 1896.—José de la Riva Agüero, *Carlos G. Amézaga.* El Ateneo, VII, 305-15. Manuel A. San Juan, *El Juez del Crimen.* El Ateneo, II, 217-20. E. S. Zeballos, *Apuntaciones biográficas.* Carlos G. Amézaga, Rev. de D. H. y L. VII, 221, 2.

**Arona, Juan de.** (See Paz Soldán y Ununue, Pedro.)

**Arroyo de Llorente, María.**

— *Ensayos poéticos.* Lima. Imp. Liberal. 1864.

**Avecilla, Pablo de.**

— *La Conquista del Perú. Novela histórica original.* Paris. Editor, D. I. Boix y Cia. 1852.

**Balcázar, Manuel Arbulú (Gil).**

— *Los novios de Suzana. Juguete cómico en un acto y en verso.* Perú. Imp. de El Taymi. 1889.

— *Apuros de un emético. Comedia en un acto y en verso. Ensayo.* Perú. Imp. de El Taymi. 1891.

— *El retrato, ó el diablo reinando. Drama en tres actos y en verso.* Perú. Imp. de El Taymi. 1891.

**Barra, Sanchez.**

— *Poesías.* Bruselas. 1862.

**Barreda y Laos, Felipe.**

— *La Vida intelectual en la Colonia. Educación, filosofía y ciencias. Ensayo histórico crítico.* Lima. Imp. La Industria. 1909.

**Barreto, Federico.**

— *Algo mío. Versos escritos en Tacna.* Lima. Tip. La Voce d'Italia. 1912.

**Barreto, José María.**

— *El Problema peruano-chileno. 1833-1911.* Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1912.

**Barriga, José Elías.**

— *Maistre. Viage al derredor de mi cuarto. Traducido del francés.* Arequipa. Imp. de la Sanción. 1892.

**Barzo, Carlos del.**

— *Auras rojas.* Lima. Tip. La Evolución. 1912.

**Bedoya, Manuel Augusto.**

— *El hermano mayor. Novela original.* Lima. Oficina Tip. de la Opinion Nacional. 1908.

— *Oros de podredumbre. La Señorita Carlota. Novela de esas que los eunucos morales llaman de escándalo social.* Madrid. Imp. Renacimiento. 1915.

— *Mack Bull. Aventuras de un millonario detective. Los desamparados. Novela original.* Madrid, Barcelona, Buenos Aires. Soc. Genl. Esp. de Lib. [No date.]

— *Mack Bull. Aventuras, etc. Segunda serie. El secreto del Kaiser. Novela original.* Madrid, Barcelona, Buenos Aires. Soc. Genl. Esp. de Lib. [No date.]

- *Mack Bull contra Nik-Arter. Aventuras, etc. Tercera serie. Una mano en las tinieblas de Constantinopla.* Madrid. Lib. de Antonio Rubiños, Editor. 1916.
- *Mack Bull. Aventuras, etc. Cuarta serie. El hombre de las gafas de color de ametista. Novela original.* Madrid. Lib. de Antonio Rubiños. 1916.
- *El hijo de Doctor Wolfran. Un hombre artificial. Novela de maravilloso.* Madrid. Renacimiento. 1917.
- *La Bola de sangre.* Madrid. Soc. Esp. de Lib. [No date.]
- *El alma de las brujas.* Madrid. Soc. Esp. de Lib. [No date.]
- *La feria de los venenos. Novela.* Madrid. V. H. de Sanz Calleja. [No date.]

**Belaunde, Victor Andrés.**

- *El Perú antiguo y los modernos sociológicos. Introducción á un ensayo de sociología jurídica peruana.* Lima. Imp. y Lib. de San Pedro. 1908. (Thesis for LL.D.)
- *Nuestra cuestión con Chile.* Lima. Sanmartí y Ca. 1919.

**Bergreve, Donato.**

- *Leyenda.* Trujillo. Impreso por José M. Rivadeneyra. 1851.

**Bosch, Pedro José.**

- *La vida de una mujer, ó consecuencia del orgullo. Drama sentimental en cinco actos.* Lima. Tip. de Aurelio Alfaro. 1859.

**Boza, Ernesto G.**

- *Convulsiones. Veinte sonetos.* Lima. Imp. de El Nacional. 1893.

**Bustamante y Ballivián, Enrique.**

- *Elogios: poemas paganos y místicos.* Lima. Impreso en los talleres tipográficos de la Revista. 1910.
- *La Evocadora: divagación ideológica.* Lima. Impreso en los talleres tipográficos de la Penitenciaria. 1913.

**Buxó, Eloy P.**

- *José Olaya. Cuadro dramático en dos actos y en verso.* Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1878.

**Cabello de Carbonera, Mercedes.<sup>3</sup>**

- *Blanca Sol. Novela social. Segunda edición.* Lima. Imp. y Lib. del Universo. 1889.
- *La novela moderna. Estudio filosófico. Premiada con la rosa de oro (primer premio) en el certamen hispánico-americano de la Academia Literaria de Buenos Aires.* Lima. Tipo-Litografía Bacilupe & Ca. 1892.

<sup>3</sup> P. P. Figuerosa, Clorinda Matto-Mercedes Cabello. *Dos estrellas del Rimac.* Miscelánea Biog. 153-63.



- *El conspirador*. (*Autobiografía de un hombre público. Novela político-social.*) Lima. E. Sequi y Ca. Editores. [1892.]
- *El Conde León Tolstoy*. Lima. Imp. de El Diario Judicial. [No date.]

**Cáceres, Zoila Aurora.** (Evangelina.)

- *Las perlas de Rosa*. *Prólogo de Amado Nervo*. Paris. Casa Editorial Garnier hermanos. [No date.]
- *Mujeres de ayer y de hoy*. *Prólogo de Luis Bonafoux*. Paris. Garnier Hermanos. [1909?] (Pages 187–213 deal with Peruvian women.)

**Caivano, Tomás.**

- *Historia de la Guerra de América entre Chile, Perú y Bolivia*. Lima. Imp. Lib. y Enc. Gmo. Stolte. 1900–1901. 2 vols.

**Camacho, José Vicente.**

- *Buscarle tres pies al gato*. *Ensayo dramático en tres actos. Representada por primera vez en Lima en la noche del 13 de agosto de 1854*. Lima. Tip. de El Heraldo. 1854.

**Camacho, Simón.**

- *A Lima*. Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1877.

**Cappa, Ricardo.**

- *Historia del Perú.*

*Colón y los Españoles. Libro primero á la introducción de la historia del Perú*. Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1885.

*La conquista*. Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1886.

*Las guerras civiles y la anarquía*. Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1887.

*Estudios críticos acerca de la dominación española en América*.

Madrid. Lib. Católica de Gregorio del Amo. *Primera Parte*.

I. *Colón y los Españoles. Tercera edición*. 1889.—*Parte*

*Segunda*. II. *Hubo derecho á conquistar* . . . 1890.—III.

*La conquista del Perú*. 1890.—IV. *Las guerras civiles*.

1890.—*Parte Tercera*. V. *Industria agrícola-pecuaria*. . .

1890.—VI. *Industria agrícola-pecuaria [con.]*. 1890.—VII.

*Industria fabril*. . . . 1890.—VIII. *Industrias mecánicas*.

1892.—IX. *Industrias mecánicas [con.]*. 1893.—X. *Indus-*

*tria naval*. 1894.—XI. *Industria naval [con.]*. 1894.—XII.

*Industria naval [con.]*. 1894.—*Parte Cuarta*. XIII. *Bellas*

*artes*. . . . 1895.—XIV. *Bellas artes [con.]*. 1895.

**Carpio, Julio C. del.**

- *Somos libres*. *Drama alegórico-nacional en dos actos y en verso. Escrito en celebración del LXVII aniversario de la independencia del Perú*. Callao. Imp. de El Porvenir. 1888.

**Carpio, Miguel del.**

— *Oda al Misti*. Lima. [Imp. de J. M. Masias. No date.]

**Carrasco, Constantino.**

— *Trabajos poéticos*. Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1878.

**Carillo, Enrique A.** (Cabotin.)

— *Cartas de un turista*. Lima. Imp. La Industria. 1905.

— *Viendo pasar las cosas*. Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1915.

**Casanova, Luis R.**

— *El Cuzco á través de la historia*. [Thesis.] Cuzco. Imp. Minauro. 1913. (In *Revista Universitaria*. Universidad de Cuzco. Dec. 1913, March 1914.)

**Casos, Fernando.**

— *Para la historia del Perú. Revolución de 1854*. Cuzco. Imp. Republicana. 1854.

**Castillo, Manuel.**<sup>4</sup>

— *Canto al Dos de Mayo de 1866*. Arequipa. Imp. del Gobierno. 1866.

— *Cantos Sud-Americanos*. Lima. Tip. de Aurelio Alfaro y Ca. 1869.

**Castro, Paulino Fuentes.**

— *Notas literarias y hojas para el pueblo*. Lima. Imp. Liberal. 1882.

— *Criminología peruana. Rojas y Cañas condenado á pena de muerte*. Lima. Imp. del Estado. [No date.]

**Cateriano, Mariano A.**

— *Tradiciones de Arequipa. Recuerdos de Antaño*. Arequipa. Imp. de la Municipalidad. 1881.

— *Ojeado sobre la vida de Monseñor Juan Gualberto Valdivia*. . . . Arequipa. Imp. de la Bolsa. 1884.

— *Memorias de los Ilmos. Srs. Obispos de Arequipa desde la erección de esta iglesia hasta nuestros días*. Arequipa. Tip. Quiroz. 1908.

**Cisneros, Luis Benjamin.**<sup>5</sup>

— *El pabellon peruano. Alegoria dedicada al patriota coronel D. Juan Espinosa. Representada con aplauso el 28 de junio*. Lima. Imp. de la Direccion de Estudios. 1855.

<sup>4</sup> Ricardo Palma, *Poetas peruanos*. Manuel Castillo. Rev. de S. A. II, 662-7.

<sup>5</sup> Ref. Jose Augusto de Izcue. *El gran poeta peruano. Lectura hecha en la velada que tuvo lugar en el Ateneo de Lima el 12 de febrero de 1900*. Lima. Imp. Escolar e Imp. de E. Moreno. 1900. (Published in *El Ateneo*, II, 122-45.)

— J. A. de Lavalle, *Julia o escenas de la vida en Lima*. Rev. de Lima, III, 490-5.—P. P. Figueroa, *Luis Benjamin Cisneros*, of *Miscelánea bios*. 200-2.

- *Alfredo el sevillano. Primera parte. Drama tradicional. Representada por primera vez en Lima en el Teatro de Variedades la noche del 29 de julio de 1856.* Lima. Imp. del Pueblo. 1856.
- *Julia, ó escenas de la vida de Lima.* Paris. 1861.
- [Second edition.] Arequipa. Imp. La Bolsa. 1886.
- *Edgardo, o un joven de mi generación. Romance americano-español.* Paris. Lib. de Rosa y Bouret. 1864.
- [Another edition.] Lima. Tip. de El Lucero. 1906.
- *Aurora amor.* Havre. Imp. du Commerce. 1885. (The preamble only,—56 pages.)
- *De libres alas. Poesías completas.* Lima. Lib. Francesa y Casa Editora E. Rosay. [1897?] (Preceded by a sketch of his life and documents relating to his "Coronation" in Lima, Aug. 23, 1897.)

**Cisneros, Luis Fernan.**

- *Elegia á la muerte de Jorge Chávez.* Lima. [Imp. Concepcion.] 1911.

**Cornejo, Mariano H.**

- *Artículos literarios.* Lima. Imp. de Gómez y Ledesma. 1888.  
(Contains: Doctor's thesis, *Estudio sobre la poesia dramatica.—Algunos años en Arequipa.—Un año que se va y otro que llega.—Estudios literarios*, Byron and Lamartine.)
- *Discursos parlamentarios y políticos. Con un prólogo de D. Luciano B. Cisneros.* Lima. Imp. de la Camera de Diputados. 1902. 2 vols.
- *Discursos políticos. Prólogo de D. Javier Prado y Ugarteche.* Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1913.

**Corpancho, Nicolás.**

- *El poeta cruzado.* Lima. Imp. de Masias. 1851.
- *Brisas del mar. Recuerdos.* Lima. Tip. del Mensajero. 1853.
- *Ensayos poéticos. Precedidos de varios juicios escritos en Europa y América.* Paris. Imp. y Lit. de Mande y Renou. 1854.  
(Biography by José Casimiro Ulloa, and critical articles by Ignacio Noboa, Miguel del Carpio, A. A. de Orihuela and José Mármol.)
- *El Templario.* Lima. Imp. de Masias. 1855.
- *Ensayo literario sobre la poesia lirica en América.* Mexico. Imp. de Vicente García Torres. 1862.

**Corpancho, Teobaldo Elías.<sup>6</sup>**

- *Canto á España*. Lima. Imp. de El País. 1897.
- *Segunda edicion*. Lima. Imp. La Industria. 1905.
- *El triunfo de la gloria, Canto á Bolognesi*. Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1900. (Introduction by Emilio Gutierrez de Quintinilla. The poem was first published in El Ateneo, III, 53-60.)

**Corvacho, José.**

- *Salmos de cautiverio*. Tacna. Tip. La Abeja. 1898.
- *Versos de soldado*. Lima. Imp. J. I. Williams. 1917.

**Cosio, José Gabriel.**

- *El americanismo literario*. Cuzco. Imp. del Departamento de Huárez. 1907.
- *El Cuzco prehispánico i colonial*. Cuzco. Imp. El Trabajo. E. Salas, Editor. 1918. (Prólogo del Dr. Fortunato L. Herrera. Con un apéndice sobre la vida i costumbres de los naturales por Pablo José Oracaín.)

**Cuneo Vidal, Romulo. (Juan Pagador.)**

- *La mujer en la literatura*. Lima. Imp. La Equitativa. 1892.
- *España. Impresiones de un Sudamericano*. Paris. Garnier Hermanos. [No date.]

**Chinarro, Francisco Flores.**

- *Cuidado con las jaranas!* Comedia de costumbres. Representada por primera vez en Ica, en la noche del 17 de julio de 1861. Lima. Imp. y Lib. de Carlos Prince. 1895.

**Chocano, José Santos.<sup>7</sup>**

- *El discurso de la revolución*. Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1895.
- *Iras santas. Poesías*. Lima. Biblioteca de El Perú Ilustrado. Imp. del Estado. 1895.
- *En la aldea. Poesías*. Lima. Bib. de El Perú Ilustrado. 1895.
- *Azahares. Versos líricos*. Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1896.
- *La epopeya del Morro. Poema americano. Premiado con medalla de oro por El Ateneo de Lima en el concurso de junio, julio de 1899*. Lima. Imp. del Comercio. 1899. (Published also in El Ateneo, I, 249 ff.)
- *El canto del siglo*. [Preface by E. Gutiérrez de Quintinilla.] Lima. Imp. La Industria. 1901.

<sup>6</sup> Ref. D. de Vivero. *Apuntaciones biográficas. Teobaldo Elías Corpancho*. Rev. de D. H. y L. . . . II, 133, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Ref. Julio Cejador, *Chocano y los poetas jóvenes de América*, El Ateneo, VIII, 91-101.—Victor M. Martua, *Vendimiario*, II, 214-17.—J. Goldberg, *José Santos Chocano*, Studies in Spanish American Literature, 246-95.

- *Poesías completas. Iras santas—En la aldea—Azahares—Poemas.* Barcelona. Buenos Aires. Casa Edit. Maucci. 1902.
- *Tercera edición.* Barcelona. Buenos Aires. Casa Edit. Maucci. 1910.
- *Los cantos del Pacífico. Poesías selectas.* Paris. Mexico. Lib. de la Viudo de Chas. Bouret. 1904.
- *Alma América. Poemas indo-españoles.* Madrid. Lib. Genl. de Victoriana Suárez. 1906.
- *Fiat lux. Poemas varios.* Paris. Soc. de Ediciones Literarias y Artísticas. Lib. Paul Ollendorf. 1908.
- *Los conquistadores. Drama heróico en tres actos y en verso. Estrenado con aplauso en el Teatro de la Princesa la noche del 7 de abril de 1906.* Madrid. Lib. de Gregorio Pueyo. 1906.
- *Vendimiario. Drama en tres actos y en prosa.* (Published in El Ateneo, II, 566-98, III, 64-93, IV, 172-89.)

**Darquer, S.**

- *Maximiliano. Drama histórico en tres actos y un prólogo.* Lima. Tip. El Lucero. 1906.

**Davalos y Lisson, Pedro.**

- *La ciudad de los Reyes. Novela histórica de 1884 á 1895.* Habana. Imp. de Rambla y Bouza. 1904.
- *Lima en 1907. Colección de artículos publicados en el Comercio con el epígrafe de Lo que fué ayer Lima, lo que es hoy y lo que será mañana. Prólogo del Dr. Don Federico Elguera.* Lima. Lib. e Imp. Gil. 1908.
- *Lima antaño.* Lima. Lib. e Imp. Gil. 1913.
- *Leguía. Novela. Continuación de La Ciudad de los Reyes.* Lima. Lib. e Imp. Gil. 1913-14. 2 vols.
- *Manuel Pardo. Novela.* Lima. Lib. e Imp. Gil. 1915-16. 2 vols.
- *La primera centuria. Causas geográficas, políticas y económicas que han detenido el progreso moral y material del Perú en el primer siglo de su vida.* Tomo I. Lima. Lib. e Imp. Gil. 1919.

**Davalos y Lisson, Ricardo.**

- *Artículos literarios.* Lima. Lib. y Imp. Gil. 1914-1917. 3 vols.

**Delgado, F. Javier.**

- *La fundación de la ciudad de Arequipa. Breve estudio histórico.* Arequipa. Tip. Cáceres. 1891.

**Delgado, Luis M.**

- *En el festín.* Arequipa. Imp. la Bolsa. 1894.

- *Doris*. Arequipa. Tip. Cáceres. 1896.
- *El problema del Pacífico. Diferentes tentativas de arreglo por parte del Perú. Conveniencia de un congreso internacional pan-americano*. Arequipa. Tip. Muñiz. 1901. [Thesis.]
- Durr, Federico.**
  - *Desencantos del amor. Leyenda*. Lima. Impreso por J. E. del Campo. 1866.
- "Ego Polibio."
- *Zanahorias y remolachas. Cien sonetas de gazetilla*. Lima. Imp. de El Nacional. 1875.
- *Tajos y reverses. Rimas libres*. Lima. Imp. de El Nacional. 1875.
- Eguiguren, Luis Antonio.**
  - *Recordando á Manuel Candamo. El hombre. El estadista*. Lima. [No press.] 1909.
- *Guerra seperatista del Perú. 1812. La revolución seperatista á la luz de documentos inéditos*. Lima. Casa Editora Sanmartí y Ca. 1912.
- *La Revolución de 1814 . . . obra premiada en el concurso oficial convocado al efecto*. Lima. Oficina Tip. de la Opioion Nacional. [1914.]
- *La holgazanería en el Perú*. Lima. Imp. de E. Moreno. 1915.
- Eguren, Jose Maria.**
  - *Simbólicas*. Lima. Tip. La Revista. 1911.
  - *La canción de las figuras*. Lima. Tip. y Enc. de la Penetenciaria. 1916.
- Elera, Pedro.<sup>s</sup>**
  - *Poesías*. Lima. Tip. de Aurelio Alfaro y Ca. 1859.
  - *Poesías*. Lima. Imp. de El Comercio. 1871.
  - *Plegarias*. Lima. Imp. del Estado. [1873.]
  - *Lamentación y meditación*. Lima. Imp. de J. Francisco Solis. 1883.
- Elguera, Federico.**
  - *Marionettes*. Lima. Imp. Gil. 1894.
  - *Insomnio. (La Nuit Blanche.) Monólogo-mímico por Millanvoye y Edel. Traducido . . . Estrenado en el teatro principal de Lima, la noche del 24 de octubre de 1895*. Lima. Imp. Gil. 1896.
  - *El amigo de las mujeres. Comedia en cinco actos. Original de A. Dumas (hijo). Version castellana*. Lima. Lib. é Imp. Gil. 1902.

<sup>s</sup> Ref. Belisario Loza, *Apuntes biográficos del poeta peruano Pedro Elera*. Sucre. Imp. de P. España. 1878. Prolog by Ricardo Condarco.

— *Durand y Durand. Comedia en tres actos. Original de Ordenneau y Valabregue arreglada al castellano.* Lima. Lib. é Imp. Gil. 1902.

— *Papa Lebonnard. Drama en cuatro actos, en verso de J. Aicard.* Lima. Lib. y Imp. Gil. 1909.

— *El Baron de Keef en Lima.* Lima. Lib. é Imp. Gil. 1913.

— *El Baron de Keef en Lima. Segunda época. Charlas con Soria.* Lima. Lib. é Imp. Gil. 1919.

**Espinosa Saldana, Adán.**

— *Versos á Iris.* Lima. La Opinion Nacional. 1911.

**Fernandez, Trinidad.**

— *Páginas del recuerdo. Poesías.* Lima. Imp. del Católico. 1857.

— *Violetas silvestres. Endechas, dolores y jácaras. Colectadas y impresas por J. Enrique del Campo.* Lima. Imp. del Editor. 1867.

**Flores y Galindo, Federico.**

— *Salpicón de costumbres nacionales. Poema burlesco.* Lima. Imp. del Journal du Pérou. 1872.

— *Luces y sombras. Colección escogida de leyendas, tradiciones, cuentos, poemas, odas, fábulas, anécdotas, artículos literarios y ensayos poéticos.* Callao. Imp. de El Callao. 1886.

— *Patria, hogar y religión. Notas perdidas. Primera serie.* Callao. Imp. La Minerva. 1896.

— *Vida y muerte de Jesús. Poema original.* Callao. Tip. Adelinda Concha de Concha. 1898.

— *La mancha de sangre, ó la conquista del Perú. Drama histórico. En cuatro actos y en verso.* Lima. Tip. de El Lucero. 1905.

**Flores, Juan Lerena.**

— *Engañar al mundo. Comedia en tres actos y en verso. Estrenada en el Teatro Olimpo el sabado 4 de setiembre de 1866.* Lima. Imp. de F. Masias. 1886.

**Freire de Jaimes, Carolina.**

— *Un amor desgraciado.* Tacna. Tip. de la Revista del Sur. 1868.

— *María de Vellido. Drama histórico en cuatro actos y en verso, original de . . . Tacna.* Imp. de la Revista del Sur. 1878.

— *Blanca de Silva. Episodio de la época de Virreinato. Drama en cuatro actos y en verso. . . . Estrenado en el teatro principal de Lima en 1879.* La Paz. Imp. de El Nacional. 1883.

— *Sin esperanza. Leyenda.* La Paz. Imp. de El Nacional. 1883.

— *El regalo de boda.* Sucre. Tip. del Progreso. 1887.



- *A mi hijo. Flores sobre su tumba.* Sucre. Tip. del Progreso. 1887.

**Fuentes, Hildebrando.**

- *Baladas y leyendas.* Lima. Imp. del Centro Militar. 1890.
- *Recuerdos de un viajero. Costas del Pacífico. Estados Unidos de N. A. Inglaterra. Francia. Italia. Austria. Hungría y España.* Lima. Gmo. Stolte, 1903.

**Fuentes, Juan Bautista.**

- *Beatriz, poema de costumbres sobre episodios antiguos.* Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1871. 2 vols.
- *El hijo del sol.* Lima. Imp. de Gallano. 1882.

**Fuentes, Manuel Atanasio. (El Murciélago.)**

- *Estadística de Lima.* Lima. Tip. Nacional de M. N. Corpancho. 1858.
- *Villarancidio (con perdón del plagio) ó asesinato de un poema en once cantos mortales, que, con el título de VICTORIA DE LA PALMA, escribió un fiscal de la Corte Superior; personaje notable por un par de bigotes a la rusa; cometóla un (drawing of a bat) admirador de cuanto escritor prosista ó versista ha venido al mundo con el talento de escribir para que no lo entiendan.* Lima. Tip. Nacional. de M. N. Corpancho. 1858. (The author of the Victoria de la Palma is M. V. Villarán.)
- *Biografía del Murciélago escrita por él mismo para proporcionar un momento de placer á su tocayo D. Manuel de Amunátegui, propietario del acreditado periódico El Comercio.* Lima. Imp. del Mercurio. 1863.
- *Aletazos del Murciélago. Colección de artículos publicados en varios periódicos. Segunda edición.* Paris. Imp. de Ad. Lainé y J. Havard. 1866. 3 vols.
- *Lima. Apuntes históricos, descriptivos, estadísticos y de costumbres.* Paris. Lib. de Firmin Didot Hermanos. 1867.
- *Corona funebre del H. Sr. Justo Román Valdez, autor del sublime poema titulado La Democracia. Escrita por un pícaro murciélago poliglota venido al mundo para martirio de Sabios y de Justos y mucho más de los Justos Sabios.* Lima. Impreso por J. Enrique del Campo. 1867.
- *Flores místicas de El Murciélago.* Lima. Imp. de El Murciélago. 1868.
- *Hojas de coca. Colección de artículos.* Lima. Imp. de Estado. 1877.

**Gálvez, Aníbal.**

- *Cosas de antaño. Crónicas peruanas.* Lima. Imp. de El Tiempo. 1905.
- Another edition. Cerro. Imp. de El Minero Ilustrado. 1908.
- *Historia nacional.* 1818. *El Real Felipe.* Lima. Imp. Prisma. 1907.
- *Historia nacional.* 1811. Zela. Lima. Imp. La Industria. 1911. 2 vols.

**Gálvez, José.**

- *Bajo la luna.* Paris. Garnier Hermanos. 1910. (Prolog by José de la Riva Agüero.)
- *Jardín cerrado. Poemas y canciones. Prólogo de Ventura García Calderón.* Paris. Garnier Hermanos. (1912.)
- *Posibilidad de una genuina literatura nacional. (El peruanismo literario.)* Lima. Casa Editoria M. Moral. 1915.

**Gamarra, Abelardo (El Tunante).**

- *Novenario del Tunante. Colección de nueve artículos con todos sus adminigulos.* Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1885.
- *Ya vienen los chilenos. Juguete cómico en un acto. Crónica de la guerra del Pacífico.* Lima. Imp. de El Nacional. 1886.
- *Ña Codeo. Ensayo de comedia en tres actos y en verso.* Lima. Carlos Prince, Impresor. 1887.
- *Costumbres del interior.* Lima. Imp. Bolognesi. 1888.
- *Rasgos de pluma. Ilustrada con litografías y fotograbados.* Lima. Victor A. Torres, Editor. 1899.
- *Algo del Perú y mucho de pelagatos.* Lima. Imp. y Lib. de Carlos Prince. 1905.
- *Artículos de costumbres. 1a serie.* Lima. Lib. Francesa Cientifica E. Rosay, Editor. 1910.

**Gararcochea, Miguel W.**

- *Poesías.* Lima. Imp. Nacional de Barrionuevo y Hnos. 1904. (Introduction by Manuel González Prada and Ricardo Palma.)

**García, Manuel Adolfo.<sup>9</sup>**

- *Composiciones poéticas.* Havre. Imp. de A. Lemaire Ainé. 1872.

**García Calderón, Francisco.<sup>10</sup>**

<sup>9</sup> Ricardo Palma. *Poetas peruanos. Manuel Adolfo García.* Rev. de S. A. II, 612 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Victor Andrés Belaunde, *La última obra de Francisco García Calderón* (Le Pérou contemporain), El Ateneo, VIII, 103-111.—Alejandro O. Deustua, *Un libro notable* (Le Pérou contemporain). Rev. Univ., Dec. 1907, 336-46.

- *De literatis. Crítica. Con un prólogo de José Enrique Rodó.* Lima. Lib. e Imp. Gil. 1904.
- *Le Pérou contemporain.* Paris. Dujarric, Editeurs. 1907.
- *Profesores de idealismo.* Paris. Paul Ollendorff. [1909?]
- *Del romanticismo al modernismo. Prosistas y poetas peruanos.* Paris. Paul Ollendorff. [1910?]
- *La creación de un continente.* Paris. Paul Ollendorff. [1912?]  
*Les démocraties latines de l'Amérique.* Paris. Ernest Flammarion, Editeur. 1912. (Preface by R. Poincaré. Translated into English by Bernard Miall, *Latin America: Its rise and progress.* London. 1913. Translated into German by Max Pfan, *Die lateinischen Demokratien Americas.* Leipzig. 1913.)
- *Ideologías.* Paris. Casa Ed. Garnier Hermanos. [No date.]
- *Le dilemme de la guerre.* Paris. Bernard Grasset. 1919.
- García Calderón, Ventura.**
- *Frivolamente. Sensaciones parisienses.* Paris. Garnier Hermanos. [1910?]
- *Dolorosa y desnuda realidad.* Paris. Garnier Hermanos. [No date.]
- García Sagustume, Baldomero.**
- *Hojarasco.* Lima. Imp. y Lib. de San Pedro. 1897.
- Garland, Antonio G.**
- *El regalo. Comedia en un acto y en prosa. Original. Estrenada en Lima el 15 de setiembre de 1911.* Lima. Imp. de La Revista. 1911.
- Goicochea, César.**
- *Veintidos sonetos.* Trujillo. Imp. de El Imparcial. 1877.
- *El día. Poema descriptiva en seis cantos.* Trujillo. Tip. de El Porvenir. 1881.
- *Dios. Poema lírico.* Lima. Carlos Prince, Impresor. 1886.
- *Recuerdos. Poema lírico.* Lima. Tip. Calle de Villalta. 1903.
- *Al galope. Del mar á los Andes. Canto primero de un poema peruano.* Lima. Imp. Nacional de Barrionuevo Hnos. 1904.
- *En la cima. Los hijos del sol. Canto segundo de un poema peruano.* Lima. Imp. Nacional de F. Barrionuevo. 1904.
- Gonzalez Prada, Manuel.**
- *Páginas libres.* Paris. Tip. Paul Dupont. 1894.  
     — Another edition. *Con un estudio crítico de Rufino Blanco Fombona.* Madrid. Soc. Española de Librería. [1905?]
- *Minúsculas.* Lima. 1901. Edition of 100 copies.  
     — Another edition. Lima. Tip. de El Lucero. 1909.

- Presbiterianas*. Lima. Imp. El Olimpio. 1909.
  - Exóticas*. Lima. Tip. El Lucero. 1911.
  - González, Nicolas Augusto.** (*Huancavilca*.)
  - Nuestros héroes. Episodios de la guerra del Pacífico. 1879-1883.*  
Lima. Arequipa. Joya Literaria. 1903.
  - González de Fanning, Teresa.** (*Maria de la Luz*).<sup>11</sup>
  - Ambición y abnegación*. Lima. Imp. de T. Aguirre. 1886.
  - Regina. Novela premiada con medalla de plata en el Concurso Internacional del Ateneo de Lima.* Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1886.
  - Lucecitas*. Madrid. Tip. de Ricardo Fé. 1893.
  - Indómita*. Lima. Tip. de El Lucero. 1904.
  - Gorriti de Belzu, Juana Manuela.**<sup>12</sup>
  - El mundo de los recuerdos.* Buenos Aires. Felix Lejouane, Editor. 1886.
  - Veladas literarias de Lima.* Buenos Aires. Imp. Europea. 1892.
  - Perfiles. Primera parte.* Buenos Aires. Felix Lejouane, Editor. 1892.
  - Gutiérrez Quintanilla, Emilio.**
  - Escritos literarios. Contienen además de la novela PERALVILLO Y SISEBUTO los siguientes: EL BACHILLER SARMIENTO; ES EL CULANTRO HERVIR HERVIR?; EL SARJENTO ROLDÁN y EL MEDICO ZANDAJILLO.* Lima. Imp. Liberal de El Correo del Perú. 1877.
  - El principio del arte i su destino social por P. J. Proudhon en lengua castellana i con dos introducciones por . . .* Lima. Imp. de El Nacional. 1884.
  - El ideal en la literatura española del siglo XVI.* Lima. Imp. de Benito Gil. 1886. (Published in El Ateneo de Lima, II, 54-63, 95-109, 131-141.)
  - Meditaciones sobre la amada costilla. I. El mal hado de la mujer: sus tratos con la Serpiente. II. Bien haya en el Perú el movimiento feminista. III. Mi opinion sobre nuestro feminismo. Paginas escritas durante 52 domingos y 18 dias feriados.* Lima. Imp. Peruana de E. L. Casanova. 1918.
- <sup>11</sup> D. de Vivero, *Apuntaciones biográficas—Teresa Gonzales de Fanning*, Rev. de D. H. y L., III, 24, 5.
- <sup>12</sup> P. P. Figueroa, *Juana Manuela Gorriti, novelista americana*, *Miscelanea Biog.*, 145-52.—Enrique del Solar, review of *Suenos y realidades* (Buenos Aires, 1892), in Est. de Chile, I, 487, 8.

**Hernández, Julio S.**

- *Ernesto. Cuadro social. por J. S. H.* Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1885.

**Herrera, Alejandro H.**

- *Nenúfares. Libro de versos.* Lima. Lit. Imp. Nacional Pedro Berrio. [1912?]

**Herrera, Jenero.**

- *Leyendas y tradiciones de Loreto. Primera serie, con 38 leyendas.* Iquitos. Peru. Río Amazonas. Imp. el Oriente. 1918.

**Hidalgo, Alberto.**

- *Arenga lírica al emperador de Alemania. Prólogo de Miguel A. Urquieta.* Arequipa. Tip. Quiroz. 1916.
- *Panoplia lírica. Pórtico de Luis Fernán Cisneros, Estudio crítico de Abraham Valdelomar.* Lima. [Imp. Victor Fajardo III.] 1917.
- *Las voces de colores. Sigue un apéndice de Gabriela Mistral, Rufino Blanco-Fombona, Enrique González Martínez, Francisco García Calderón y otros autores.* Arequipa. Tip. Quiroz. 1918.
- *Hombres y bestias.* Arequipa. Tip. Quiroz. 1918.
- *Jardín zoológico. Política. Historia. Humorismo. Poesía. Crítica. Otros géneros. Panfletos, elogios, crónicas, cartas, versos, pensamientos, notas, aforismos, anécdotas, paisajes.* Arequipa. [Tip. Quiroz.] 1919.

**Ibáñez, Francisco.**

- *Tradiciones de mi tierra, escritas en ratos de ocio.* Arequipa. Imp. de la Bolsa. 1884.

**Irigoyen, Carlos García.**

- *Santo Toribio. Obra escrita con motivo del tercer centenario de la muerte del Santo Arzobispo de Lima.* Lima. Imp. y Lib. de San Pedro. 1906. 4 vols.

**Itolararres, José T.**

- *La trinidad del indio ó costumbres del interior.* Novela. Lima. Imp. Bolognesi. 1885.

**Iturrino, Antonio.**

- *La mujer.* Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1871.
- *Los misterios de Lima. Novelas histórica y de costumbres.* Lima. 1872.

**Iturino, José Eugenio.<sup>13</sup>**

- *Poesías. Segunda edición aumentada y corregida por su autor.* Lima. Imp. de Fidel Montoya y Hnos. 1862.

<sup>13</sup> N. A. Della Rocca de Vergalo, *José Eugenio Iturino, sus obras completas*, Revue Moderne, Paris, Feb. 16, 1885.

- *Poesías*. Lima. Imp. Liberal. 1870. [Prologue by Juan V. Camacho.]
- *Obras diversas . . . á saber: Fragmentos de una historia; Una conspiración, drama; Tipos, colección de artículos de costumbres*. Lima. Imp. liberal. 1870.
- [Another edition.] Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1874.
- *Flores del desierto. Colección de poesías*. Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1873.
- *Los amores de Lima. Novela*. Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1873.
- *Un viviente en el sepulcro. Continuación de los amores de Lima*. Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1873.
- *La epopeya universal*. Lima. Carlos Prince, Impresor. 1885.
- *Nuevo laberinto de refranes, ó sea viajes descriptivos por las calles y plazas de Lima*. Lima. Carlos Prince, Impresor. 1885.
- *El arte enamorar, o amores, celos y desengaños. Obritas humorísticas. Segunda edición*. Lima. Carlos Prince. 1890.
- *Rocío matinal. Nueva serie de poesías*. Lima. Carlos Prince. 1890.
- *Horas perdidas. Colección en tres series de las poesías escritas en diversidad de metros*. Lima. Imp. de Carlos Prince. 1897. [Primera serie, *Ensayos juveniles*. Segunda serie, *Rocío matinal*. Tercera serie, *Bolidos nocturnos*.]
- Izcue, José Augusto de.**
- *El gran poeta peruano [L. B. Cisneros]. Lectura hecha en la velada que tuvo lugar en el Ateneo de Lima el 12 de febrero de 1900*. Lima. Imp. Escolar e Imp. de E. Moreno. 1900. (Published in *El Ateneo*, II, 122-45.)
- *Los peruanos y su independencia*. Lima. Imp. La Industria. 1906.
- *Castilla y San Martín. Estudio histórico*. Lima. Imp. La Industria. 1908.
- *Caridad y fé. Oda*. Lima. Empresa Tip. Unión. 1911.
- Izquierdo, Simón Martínez.**
- *Victor Hugo. Noventa y tres. Traducido*. Lima. Imp. de El Nacional. 1874.
- *La linterna roja por Pedro Zaccone. Traducción*. Lima. Imp. de El Nacional. 1875.
- *Paseos por el orbe ideal. Diez y seis lecturas de fantasía, y Los amigos invisibles. Novela espiritista*. Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1887.

**Julio y Elizalde, Juan José (Padre Mercedario).**

— *Redemptrix captivorum, ó sea la fundación de la orden mercedaria.*

*Poema en ocho cantos.* Arequipa. Tip. Caceres. 1892.

**Lafosse, Alfredo P. (Saint Just).**

— *Ninil.* Lima. Imp. de E. Moreno. 1903.

**Larrabure y Unanue, Eugenio.**

— *Estudios literarios.* Juan de Arona. Lima. Imp. Liberal. 1867.

— *Estudios literarios.* *El poema Werther de J. Wolfgang Goethe.* Conferencia dada . . . en el Club Literario de Lima. Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1876. (Published in *El Ateneo de Lima*, II, 403-10, 442-55 and in the *Anales de la Seccion de Literatura*, Club Literario de Lima, 2º año. 47-85.)

— *Monografías histórico-americanas.* Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1893.

**Larrabure, José Vicente.**

— *La Platinina.* Novela. Lima. Imp. Liberal de F. Masias y Ca. 1887.

— *Huayna Capac.* Novela histórica. Lima. Sanmartí y Ca. Imp. y Lib. de San Pedro. 1918.

**Larriva, José Joaquín.<sup>14</sup>**

— *Elogio del excelentísimo Señor Simón Bolívar . . . pronúnciolo en la Universidad de San Marcos.* Lima. Imp. Republicana. 1826.

— *Colección de las producciones en prosa y verso, serias, jocosas y satíricas del ilustre literato D. D. José Joaquín de Larriva.* (In *Odriozola, Colección de Documento Literarios*, Vol. II.)

**Larriva, Juan Francisco.**

— *Rufinada.* Canto heroico-burlesco. Lima. Imp. del Progreso. 1854.

— *Poesías.* Colección completa corregida por su autor. Lima. Imp. de Eusebio Aranda. 1857.

**Larriva de Llona, Lastemia.**

— *Un drama singular.* Historia de una familia. Guayaquil. Imp. de la Nacion. 1888.

— *Oro y escoria.* Guayaquil. Imp. de la Nacion. 1889.

— *Luz. Segunda parte de Oro y escoria.* Guayaquil. Imp. de la Nacion. 1890.

<sup>14</sup> Works published before the revolution include an *Elogio . . . al Excmo. Señor Virey D. José Fernando Abascal . . .* Lima. Imp. de los Huerfanos, 1813 and *Elogio del . . . Señor D.D. Bartolomé María de la Heras . . .* Lima. Por Bernadino Ruiz. 1815.



- *Fé, patria y hogar*. Colección de poesías. Lima. Lib. e Imp. Gil. 1902.
- *Hasta el cielo*. En la muerte de mi esposa Numa P. Llona. Guayaquil. Lib. Pap. y Tip. Gutenberg. 1907.
- *Cartas á mi hijo*. Lima. Imp. y Lib. del Estado Mayor del Ejercito. 1919.

**Lavalle, José Antonio.**

- *Don Pablo de Olavide*. Apuntes sobre su vida y sus obras. Lima. Imp. Americana. 1859.
- *Segunda edición*. Lima. Imp. del Teatro. 1885.
- *Hojas de un diario y páginas de un libro que no se publicará*. Lima. Imp. de El Correo del Peru. 1878.
- *Juan de la Torre*. Uno de los trece de la Isla del Gallo. Leído en el Club Literario de Lima, el 3 de octubre de 1885. Lima. Imp. del Teatro. 1885.
- *Mariana Belzunce*. Un episodio de la vida social de Lima en el siglo XVIII. Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1886. (Edition of 100 copies.)
- *El Dr. José Manuel Valdez*. Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1886.
- *Galería de retratos de los gobernadores y virreyes del Peru (1532-1824)*. Publicada por Domingo de Vivero. Texto por Don J. A. de Lavalle. . . . Lima. Lib. Clasica y Cientifica. 1891.
- [Another edition.] Lima. Lib. Clasica y Cientifica. 1892.
- [Another edition.] Barcelona. Tip. de la Casa Editorial Maucci. 1909.
- *La hija del contador*. Novela descriptiva y de costumbres antiguas. Por el licenciado Perpetuo Antañon. Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1893.

**Lavalle, Juan Bautista de.**

- *En la paz del hogar*. Impresiones y estudios. Lima. Lib. Francesa Cientifica. [1912.]
- *El Perú y la Gran Guerra*. Lima. Imp. Americana. 1919.

**Leguía y Martínez, Germán.**

- *El Manchay-Puito*. Infierno aterrador. Leyenda dramática en tres actos, original y en verso. Lima. Imp. y Lib. de Benito Gil. 1887.
- *Poesías*. Primera serie. Lima. Imp. Bolognesi. 1889.
- *Poesías*. Tomo primero. Lima. Imp. y Lib. Benito Gil. 1893.
- *Historia de Arequipa*. Lima. Vol. I. Imp. Moderna. 1912. Vol. II, Tip. El Lucero. 1914.

**León, Luis Emilio.**

— *Una vida vulgar*. Lima. Imp. M. A. Davila. 1916.

**Llosa, José Mariano.**

— *Poesías patrióticas y americanas*. Arequipa. Impresas por Pascual Miranda. 1864.

**Loayza, Fernando Lopez (Fray K. Brito).**

— *Letras de molde. Colección de artículos*. Iquique. Imp. Rafael Bini é Hijos. 1907.

— *Prosa menuda. Literatura periodista*. Iquique. Imp. Rafael Bini é Hijos. 1908.

— *Pro Patria*. Iquique. Imp. Lit. La Academia. 1909.

— *Los juguetes. Boceto dramático en dos cuadros y una moraleja. Estrenada el 14 de mayo de 1909 en el Teatro Nacional*. Iquique. Imp. Lit. La Academia. 1909.

— *Idealidades artísticas*. Iquique. Imp. Lit. La Academia. 1910.

— *Ama y espera. Monólogo dedicado á la Senora Matilde Xatart de Montero*. Iquique. Imp. Edw. Muecke. 1911.

— *El amor de Cándida. Monólogo*. Iquique. Imp. Lit. La Academia. 1911.

— *Un matrimonio como hay muchos. Diálogo*. Iquique. Imp. Lit. La Academia. 1911.

**Loayza, Francisco A.**

— *Simienta japonesa. Leyendas y cuentos antiguos del Japón. Con ilustraciones de Bumpo Nizwa*. Yokahama. Lit. Imp. Kiu-kosha. 1913.

**Loayza, Luis Aurelio.**

— *Piltrafas. Cosas de mi tierra*. Lima. Lib. Francesa Científica Gal-land. 1910. (Prologue by A. Gamarra.)

**Lora y Lora, José.**

— *Anunciación. Poesías. Carta-prefacio de Vargas Vila. Noticia por V. García Calderón*. Paris. Garnier Hnos. [1908?]

**Lorente, Sebastian.<sup>15</sup>**

— *Pensamientos sobre el Perú*. Lima. Tip. de la Voz del Pueblo. 1855.

— *Historia antigua del Perú*. Lima. Imp. de Masias. 1860.

— *Historia de la conquista del Perú*. Lima. Lib. de Masias. 1861.

<sup>15</sup> Ref. José Casimiro Ulloa, *Historia antigua del Perú y Historia de la conquista del Perú* por S. Lorente, Rev. de Lima, VI, 253-63.—D. Barros Arana, *Hist. antigua del Perú* por S. Lorente, Rev. del Pacif. V, 65-80, 129-42.—J. Joaquín de Mora, *Hist. de la conquista del Perú*, por S. Lorente, *Anales de la Univ. de Chile*, XXII, 213-18.

- *Historia del Perú bajo la dinastía austriaca.* 1542-1598. Lima. Lib. de Benito Gil. 1863.
  - *Historia del Perú bajo la dinastía austriaca.* 1598-1700. Paris. [Imp. de A. E. Rochette.] 1870.
  - *Historia del Perú bajo los Borbones.* Lima. Lib. de Gil y Aubert. 1871.
  - *Historia del Perú desde la proclamación de la Independencia.* Tomo I. 1821-1827. Lima. Imp. Calle de Camaná. 1876. (Tome II never published.)
  - *Historia de la civilización peruana.* Lima. Imp. Liberal. 1879.
- Lozada, Pedro L.**
- *Fanatismo y progreso.* *Apoteosis del E. S. D. Manuel Pardo.* Ensayo dramático en un acto y en verso, dividido en dos cuadros y original. Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1878.

**Mantilla, Victor.**

- *Nuestros héroes.* *Episodios de la Guerra del Pacífico.* Lima. Arequipa. Joya Literaria. 1902.
- *Una historia de amor.* Lima. Imp. de El Progreso. [No date.]

**Manzanilla, J. M.**

- *Discursos parlamentarios.* Lima. Imp. del Centro Editorial. 1914-1917. 3 vols.

**Márquez, José Arnaldo.<sup>10</sup>**

- *Recuerdos de un viaje á los Estados Unidos de la América del Norte.* 1857-1861. Lima. Imp. del Comercio. 1862.
- *Notas perdidas.* Lima. Imp. del Comercio. 1862. 2 vols.
- *El Perú y La España moderna.* *Relación de los antecedentes de la guerra con España.* Lima. Imp. de El Nacional and Imp. de Alfaro y Ca. 1866. 2 vols.
- *Notas perdidas.* *Colección de ensayos en verso.* Imp. de Comercio. 1878. (Practically all the poems in this collection do not appear in the edition of 1862.)
- *Dramas de Guillermo Shakespere.* *Julio César.* *Como gustéis.* *Comedia de equivocaciones.* *Las alegres comadres de Windsor.* Barcelona. Biblioteca Artes y Letras. E. Domenech y Ca. 1883.
- *Dramas de Guillermo Shakespere.* *Sueño de una noche de verano.* *Medida por medida.* *Coriolano.* *Cuento de invierno.* Barcelona. Biblioteca Arte y Letras. Daniel Cortezo y Ca. 1884.

<sup>10</sup> Ref. Ricardo Palma, *Poetas peruanos*, Arnaldo Márquez, Rev. de S. A. II, 713-7. Adolfo Valderrama, *Notas perdidas.* *Colección de ensayos en verso* de J. Arnaldo Márquez, Rev. Chil. XI, 264-73, 424-35.

- *La novia del colegial. Zarzuela en tres actos y en verso. Premiada con medalla de oro en el Concurso Literario de 1886 por el Ateneo de Lima.* Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1887.
- *Cristóbal Colón. Juguete dramático.* Lima. Imp. del Comercio. 1892.
- *Canto al Libertador San Martín. Primera entrega.* Buenos Aires. Imp. La Minerva. 1899.
- [Another edition.] Lima. Imp. de E. Moreno. 1901.
- *Prosa y versos. 1a entrega. Siluetas femininas.* Lima. Imp. E. Moreno. 1901.
- *Prosa y versos. 2a entrega. Siluetas femininas. La naturaleza. Poesías científicas.* Lima. Tip. Italiana. 1901.
- *Prosa y versos. 3a entrega. La naturaleza. Poemas científicas.* Lima. Tip. Italiana. 1901.
- *Prosa y versos. 4a entrega. Recuerdos de viajes.* Lima. Tip. Italiana. 1902.
- *Prosa y versos. 5a y 6a entregas. Recuerdos de viajes.* Lima. Lib. e Imp. Gil. 1902.
- Matto de Turner, Clorinda.**<sup>17</sup>
- *Tradiciones cuzqueñas. Leyendas, biografías y hojas sueltas.* Vol. I. Arequipa. Imp. de la Bolsa. 1884. Vol. II. Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1886.
- *Aves sin nido. Novela peruana.* Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1889. (Translated into English under the title *Birds without a nest: A story of Indian life and priestly oppression in Peru.* London. 1904.)
- *Bocetos al lápiz de Americanos célebres.* Gregorio Pacheco. Lima. Imp. Bacigalupi y Ca. 1890.
- *Indole. Novela peruana.* Lima. Tip. Lit. Bacilupi y Ca. 1891.
- *Hima-Sumac. Drama en tres actos y en prosa. Estrenado en el Teatro de Arequipa el 16 de octubre de 1884 y representado en el Olimpio de Lima el 27 de abril de 1888.* Lima. Imp. La Equitativa. 1892.
- *Leyendas y recortes.* Lima. Imp. La Equitativa. 1893.

<sup>17</sup> Ref. José Gabriel Cosío, *Clorinda Matto de Turner y sus obras*, Prologue to the 1917 edition of her Tradiciones.—P. P. Figueroa, *Clorinda Matto—Mercedes Cabello. Miscelanea biog.* 153-63.—E. Gutierrez Quintinilla, *Juicio sobre Aves sin nido.* Lima. Imp. de Bacilupi. 1889.—Joaquín Lemoine, *Clorinda Matto de Turner. Lectura hecha en el Palacio de la Exposicion, en el solemne instalacion de Circulo Literario de Lima.* Lima. Imp. y Lib. de Benito Gil. 1887.

- *Herencia. Novela peruana.* Lima. Imp. Masias. 1895. (Continuation of *Aves sin nido*.)
- *Viage de recreo. España, Francia, Inglaterra, Italia, Suiza y Alemania.* Con más de 250 grabados ilustrativos. Valencia. F. Semperé y Cia. Editores. [No date.]
- *Boreales, Miniaturas. Porcelanas.* Buenos Aires. Imp. de Juan A. Alsina. 1902.
- *Tradiciones cuzqueñas y leyendas. Prólogo del Señor Dr. José Gabriel Cosío.* Cuzco. Lib. Imp. de H. G. Rojas. 1917.

**Melgar, Mariano.<sup>18</sup>**

- *Poesías.* Lima. En los depósitos del autor. 1878. (Introducción by F. García Calderón, followed by an anonymous *Noticias biográficas*.)

**Melo, Rosendo.**

- *El destino. Novela original.* Valparaíso. Imp. y Lib. Europea de Nicaso Ezquera. 1870.
- *Dorila. Bosquejos del natural.* Lima. Imp. de Universo. 1871.
- *Los piratas y el Callao antiguo. Reseña histórico marítima del Sur-Pacífico. Que comprende parte del siglo XVI, el siglo XVII y parte del siglo XVIII.* Lima. Imp. del Comercio. 1893.

**Mendez, Alejandro.**

- *La calumnia.* Mollendo. Tip. del Puerto. 1894.
- *A Cuba.* Mollendo. Tip. del Puerto. 1896.

**Mendiburu, Manuel de.<sup>19</sup>**

- *Diccionario histórico y biográfico del Perú.* Lima. Imp. de Francisco Solís; Imp. Bolognesi; Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1874-1890. 8 vols.
- *Apuntes históricos del Perú y noticias cronológicas del Cuzco.* Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1902.

**Menéndez, Leonor E. de.**

- *Zarela. Novela feminista.* Arequipa. Tip. Franklin. [No date.] (Introduction by Francisco Mostajo.)

**Mercado, Martín Alvarez.**

- *Roberto. Drama en cinco actos y en prosa . . . representado por primera vez en el teatro del Cuzco.* Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1889.

<sup>18</sup> Ref. Belisario Calle, *El poeta Melgar*, El Ateneo de Lima, IV, 14-25.

<sup>19</sup> Ref. D. Barros Arana, *El diccionario biográfico del Perú*, Rev. Chil. III, 341, 2.—P. P. Figueroa, *General Manuel de Mendiburu. Historiador y biógrafo*, Miscelanea biog. 131-7.—José Toribio Polo, *Historia nacional. Crítica del diccionario del . . .* Lima. Imp. del Comercio. 1891.

**Moncloa y Covarrubias, Manuel. (Cloamon.)**

- *El nudo. Ensayo dramático en dos actos y en prosa. Representado por primera vez, la noche del estreno del teatro Pepin, 5 de diciembre de 1882.* Lima. Lit. e Imp. Antigua Calle del Correo. 1883.
- *Dos ó uno. Juguete cómico en un acto y en prosa. Representado por primera vez en el teatro Politeama el 10 de agosto de 1884.* Lima. Imp. Comercial del Progreso. 1884.
- *Ocho cubiertos con vino. Juguete cómico en tres actos y en prosa.* Lima. Carlos Prince, Impresor. 1887.
- *Al fin solos! Disparate cómico en un acto y en prosa. Estrenado en el Teatro Colón, la noche del 29 de abril de 1888.* Lima. Benito Gil, Editor. 1888.
- *Tipos menudos. Prólogo de Carlos G. Amézaga.* Lima. Carlos Prince, Editor. Imp. del Universo. 1895.
- *De telón adentro.* Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1897.
- *Los bohemios de 1886. Apuntes y recuerdos.* Lima. Gmó. Stolte, Editor. 1901.
- *Diccionario dramático teatral del Perú.* Lima. Lit. y Tip. de Badiola y Barrio. 1905.
- *Monólogo. El suicida.* Lima. Imp. El Lucero. 1902.
- *La primera nube. Diálogo cómico. Estrenado . . . en el Teatro Olympio de Lima . . . el 21 de mayo de 1906.* Lima. Tip. de El Lucero. 1906.
- *El teatro de Lima. Apuntes históricos. Con motivo de la inauguración del Teatro Municipal.* Lima. Lib. e Imp. Gil. 1909.  
(An account of the theaters erected in Lima from Colonial times up to 1905, the companies of actors who played there, something of their repertoires, etc.)

**Montoya, Arturo.**

- *Medallones.* Lima. Imp. La Industria. 1898.
- *Sonetitos y rondeles.* Lima. Lib. Escolar e Imp. de E. Moreno. 1899.

**Morales, Augusto Aguirre.**

- *Flor de ensueño.* Arequipa. Tip. La Bolsa. 1906.
- *La medusa.* Lima. Lib. Francesa Científica. E. Rosay. 1916.
- *Devocionario. Oraciones, sandades y homilias que escribió . . . y cuya ha dice don Federico More.* Lima. [No press. 1916?]

**Morales de la Torre, Raimundo.**

- *Los estudios literarios. Tesis doctoral.* Lima. Imp. La Industria. 1906.

— *Paisajes íntimos. Prólogo de Clemente Palma.* Lima. Imp. Sanmartí. 1911.

**Morales, Renato.**

— *Adela.* Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1886.

— *Luz blanca.* Arequipa. Imp. La Bolsa. 1889.

— *Soledad.* Arequipa. Tip. Caceres. 1891.

— *Martínez.* Arequipa. Tip. Caceres. 1895.

**Morales, Sixto.**

— *Canto patriótico.* Arequipa. Imp. La Bolsa. 1892.

— *María. Pequeña poema.* Arequipa. Tip. Mercantil. 1893.

— *Besos. Pequeña poema.* Arequipa. Imp. de la Bolsa. 1894.

— *Fílonos.* Arequipa. Tip. Caceres. 1898.

**Moscoso y Chávez, Felisa.**

— *Flores silvestres.* Barcelona. Pons y Cia. 1892.

— *Violetas mistianas. Segunda parte de Flores silvestres.* Barcelona. Pons y Cia. 1898.

— *Ligeros pensamientos consagrados á la mujer. 2a edicion, corregida y aumentada.* Barcelona. Pons y Cia. 1901.

**Muñiz, Carlos María.**

— *Historia del patriotismo, valor y heroísmo de la Nación Peruana el la guerra con Chile.* Arequipa. Casa Tip. Muñiz. 1908.

**Muñoz, Tomas M.**

— *La discordia conjugal. Drama en tres actos y en verso . . . Representada por primera vez en el teatro principal de Lima en el mes de octubre de 1862.* Lima. Tip. de Aurelio Alfaro. 1862.

**Murga, Bernadino.**

— *El siglo futuro.* Lima. Imp. La Union. 1916.

**Nieves y Bustamante, María.**

— *Jorje o el hijo del pueblo. Novela original.* Arequipa. Imp. de la Bolsa. 1892. 2 vols.

**Ocampo, Aurora Araoz.**

— *Flores silvestres.* Cuzco. Tip. de la Juventud. 1896.

— *El oriente del Perú y tradiciones serranas. Segunda edición.* Cuzco. Tip. La Perla. 1900.

**Odriozola, Manuel de.**

— *Colección de documentos literarios del Perú en las épocas del coloniaje, después de la conquista y de la independencia hasta lo presente.* Lima. Estab. de Tip. de Aurelio Alfaro; Imp. del Estado. 1863-1877. 10 vols.



**Pagador, Mariano.**

- *La floresta española americana. Compilación de la historia de América en general y en particular del Perú. Segunda edición, corregida y aumentada.* Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1872. 2 vols.

**Palma, Angelica. (Marianella.)**

- *Vencida. Ensayo de novela de costumbres.* Barcelona. Casa Editorial P. Salvat. 1918.

**Palma, Clemente.**

- *Excursión literaria.* Lima. Imp. de El Comercio. 1895.
- *El porvenir de las razas en el Perú.* Tesis. Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1897.
- *Filosofía y arte.* Tesis. Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1897.
- *Cuentos malévolos. Segunda edición.* Paris. Paul Ollendorff. [1912?]

**Palma, Ricardo.<sup>20</sup>**

- *Corona poética. Colección de apuntes biográficos.* Lima. Tip. del Mensajero. 1853. (Brief narration of patriotic actions in the War of Independence.)
- *Poesías.* Lima. Imp. de J. M. Masias. Junio de 1855.
- *Anales de la Inquisición de Lima. Estudios históricos.* Lima. Tip. de Aurelio Alfaro. 1863. (Published in the Revista de Lima, 1861, 2.)
- [Another edition.] Madrid. Est. Tip. de Ricardo Fé. 1897.
- *Armonías. Libro de un desterrado.* Paris. Lib. de Rosa y Bouret. 1865. (Some of these poems were published in the Revista de Lima, Vol. VI, 1862, and VII, 1863.)
- *Semblanzas.* Lima. Imp. dirigida por J. M. Noriega. 1867.
- *Pasionarias.* Havre. Tip. Alfonso Lemale. 1870.
- *Tradiciones.* Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1872.
- *Tradiciones. Segunda serie.* Lima. Imp. Liberal de El Correo del Peru. 1874.

<sup>20</sup> Ref. Rafael Altamira, *Literatos americanos, Ricardo Palma, Rev. Nac.* XVIII, 52-6.—P. P. Figueroa, *Poetas del Rimac y del Rhin* [R. Palma and H. Heine]. *Pag. Trunc.* 25-32. Idem, *Ricardo Palma, Miscelanea biog.* 121-30.—Sturgis E. Leavitt, *Ricardo Palma, Hispanic American Historical Review*, III, 63-7.—Lastenia L. de Llona, *Ricardo Palma, El Ateneo de Lima*, V, 182-6.—Francisco Sosa, *Escritores y poetas sud-americanos. Ricardo Palma, El Ateneo de Lima*, V, 19-25.—D. de Vivero, *Apuntaciones biográficas Ricardo Palma, Rev. de D. H. y L.*, II, 232, 3.—The Mercurio Peruano devotes the double number of October and November, 1919, to the memory of Ricardo Palma.

- *Tradiciones. Tercera serie.* Lima. Benito Gil, Editor. 1875.
- *Tradiciones. Cuarta serie.* Lima. Benito Gil, Editor. 1877.
- *Monteagudo y Sanchez Carrión. Páginas de la Historia de la Independencia.* (In Odriozola, *Colección de Documentos Literarios*, 1877, and published later in Cachivaches, 187 ff.)
- *Verbos y Gerundios.* Lima. Benito Gil, Editor. 1877.
- *Tradiciones. Primera á sexta serie.* Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1883. (Contains also the *Anales de la Inquisición*.)
- *El Demonio de los Andes. Tradiciones históricas sobre el conquistador Francisco de Carbajal.* Nueva York. Imp. de las Novedades. 1883.
- *Enrique Heine. Traducciones.* Lima. Imp. del Teatro. 1886.
- *Refutacion á un compendio de historia del Perú* [by R. P. Cappa]. Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1886.
- *Poesías. Juvenilia. Armonías. Cantarcillos. Pasionarias. Traducciones. Verbos y Gerundios. Nieblas.* Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1887. (Contains the important introduction *La Bohemia Limeña de 1848-1860. Confidencias literarias.*)
- *Discurso en la inauguración en 1887 de la Academia Peruana correspondiente también de la Española.* (In *El Ateneo de Lima*, IV, 133ff.) 1887.
- *Tradiciones . . . y otros trabajos literarios robados á sus autores por el editor de El Ateneo de Lima. Edición limitada á 50 ejemplares numerados.* Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1889.
- *Ropa vieja. Última serie de tradiciones.* Lima. Imp. y Lib. del Universo. 1889.
- *A San Martín.* [Short poem.] Lima. Imp. Torres Aguirre. 1890.
- *Ropa, apolillada. Octava y última serie de tradiciones.* Lima. Imp. y Bib. del Universo. 1891.
- *Filigranas.* Lima. Imp. de Benito Gil. 1892.
- *Tradiciones peruanas.* Barcelona. Montaner y Simón, Editores. 1893-6. 4 vols.
- *Neologismos y americanismos.* Lima. Imp. y Lib. de Carlos Prince. 1896.
- *Recuerdos de España. Notas de viaje. Esbozos. Neologismos y americanismos.* Buenos Aires. Imp. Lit. y Enc. de J. Peuser. 1897.
- *Tradiciones y artículos históricos.* Lima. Imp. Torres Aguirre. 1899.
- *Recuerdos de España. Precididos de la Bohemia de mi Tiempo.* Lima. Imp. La Industria. 1899.

- *Cachivaches*. Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1900.
- *Anales del Cuzco*. [Dados á luz por Ricardo Palma, con un apéndice y comentarios.] Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1901.
- *PapELITAS lexicográficas*. Dos mil setecientas voces que hacen falta en el diccionario. Lima. Imp. La Industria. 1903.
- *Tradiciones selectas del Perú*. Edición corregida. Callao. A. J. Segrestán y Cia. 1911. 4 vols.
- *Mis últimas tradiciones peruanas*. Barcelona. Casa Editorial Maucci. 1906.
- *Mis últimas tradiciones*. Apéndice á mis últimas tradiciones. Barcelona. Tip. de la Casa Editorial Maucci. [No date.]
- *Apuntes para la historia de la Biblioteca de Lima*. Lima. Empresa Tip. Union. 1912.
- *Colección de Escritores Americanos dirigida por Ventura García Calderón*. Las Mejores tradiciones peruanas. Barcelona. Casa Editorial Maucci. [No date.] <sup>21</sup>
- *Memoria que presenta el director de la Nueva Biblioteca Nacional en el acto solemne de su inauguración el 28 de julio de 1884*. Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1884.
- *Memoria que presenta el director de la Biblioteca Nacional correspondiente al cuatremo del 28 de julio de 1884 al 28 de julio de 1888*. Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1888.
- *Memoria . . . correspondiente al bienio de julio de 1888 a julio de 1890*. Lima. Imp. Torres Aguirre. 1890.
- *Memoria . . . de julio de 1890 á julio de 1892*. Lima. Imp. Torres Aguirre. 1892.
- *Memoria . . .* Lima. Imp. de El Rimac. 1893.
- *Memoria . . .* Lima. Imp. de El Rimac. 1894.
- *Memoria . . .* Lima. Imp. Torres Aguirre. 1896.
- *Memoria . . .* Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1897.
- *Memoria . . .* Lima. Imp. de Estado. 1900.
- *Memoria . . .* Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1901.
- *Memoria . . .* Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1902.
- *Memoria . . .* Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1903.
- *Memoria . . .* Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1904.
- *Memoria . . .* Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1905.
- *Memoria . . .* Lima. Tip. Nacional de Federico Barriounevo. 1906.
- *Memoria . . .* Lima. Imp. y Lib. de San Pedro. 1907.
- *Memoria . . .* Lima. Imp. y Lib. de San Pedro. 1908.
- *Memoria . . .* Lima. Sanmartí. 1909.
- *Memoria . . .* Lima. Sanmartí. 1910.
- *Memoria . . .* Lima. Sanmartí. 1911.

<sup>21</sup> The reports of Ricardo Palma as Director of the Biblioteca Nacional, though not of a literary nature, are important records of his long period of service to the Republic of Peru and are of sufficient value to justify their mention.

**Pando, José María de.**

- *Epístola á Prospero*. Lima. Imp. de la Libertad. 1826.
- *Pensamientos sobre moral y política*. Cádiz. En la Imp. Caditana. 1837.
- *Elementos de derecho internacional*. Valparaíso. Imp. del Mercurio. 1848.

**Panizo y Orbegozo, Federico.**

- *Dos tesis sobre Manuel A. Segura*. Lima. Imp. de Moreno. 1901.

**Pardo y Aliaga, Felipe.<sup>22</sup>**

- *El Espejo de mi Tierra*. *Periódico de Costumbres*. No. I, Sept. 22, 1840. No. II, Oct. 8, 1840. No. III, March 31, 1859.
- *Poesías y escritos en prosa*. Paris. Imp. de los Caminos de Hierro. 1869. (Prolog dealing with his life and works by M. Pardo, Lima. Aug. 9, 1865.)
- *Poesías de . . . , precididas de su biografía y acompañadas de algunas notas por M. González de la Rosa*. Paris. Mexico. Lib. de la Viuda de Ch. Bouret. 1898.

**Patrón, Pablo.**

- *Estudio crítico sobre el discurso del Dr. Javier Prado . . . acerca del Perú Colonial*. Lima. Imp. de El Comercio. 1894.

**Paz Soldán, Juan Pedro.**

- *La ciudad de Lima bajo la dominación española (1535-54)*. Lima. 1908.
- *Una revolución famosa (18 de setiembre de 1544)*. *Premiado en los Juegos Florales organizados por la Municipalidad de Lima el 28 de julio de 1909*. Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1914.
- *Segunda edición corregida y aumentada*. Lima. Lib. e Imp. Gil. 1914.
- *El golpe de estado del 29 de mayo*. Lima. Imp. de la Revista. 1909.
- *Segunda edición*. Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1914.
- *Diccionario biográfico de peruanos contemporáneos*. Lima. Lib. e Imp. Gil. 1917.

<sup>22</sup> Ref. *A la memoria de D. Felipe Pardo y Aliaga*. Lima. Imp. de El Nacional. 1869, (Sketch of his life by J. V. Camacho: an account of his public career from El Comercio; poems to his memory by Alberto Lista, J. A. Márquez, C. A. Salaverry, and C. A. Camacho).—Patricio de la Escosura, *Tres poetas contemporáneos: Pardo, Vega, y Espronceda*. (Discourse in public inaugural session of Spanish Academy, 1870.)—José A. de Izcue, *Felipe, el satírico limeño*, El Ateneo, VII, 105-115.—Zorababel, Rodríguez, *Poesías y escritos en prosa de don Felipe Pardo*, *Miscelanea* II, 61-92 and *La est. de Chile*, III, 515-19, 531-6.

**Paz Soldán, Mariano Felipe.**<sup>23</sup>

- *Causa célebre sobre el asesinato de Monteagudo*. Lima. Tip. de Aurelio Alfari. y Ca. 1860.
- *Historia del Perú independiente. Primer período. 1819-22*. Lima. [Impresa en el Havre, en la Imprenta de Alfonse Lemale.] 1868.
- *Historia del Perú Independiente. Segundo período. 1822-27*. Lima. [Impresa en el Havre, en la Imprenta de Alfonse Lemale.] 1870-4. 2 vols.
- *Narración histórica de la guerra de Chile contra el Perú y Bolivia*. Buenos Aires. Imp. y Lib. de Mayo. 1884.
- *Historia del Perú Independiente. 1835-39*. Buenos Aires. Imp. del Courrier de la Plata. 1888.

**Paz Soldán y Unánue, Pedro. (Juan de Arona.)**<sup>24</sup>

- *Ruinas. Ensayos poéticos*. Paris. Lib. Española de Mme. Denné Schmitz. 1863.
- *La España Tetuánica y la Pinsonada*. Lima. Impresa por José M. Noriega. 1867.
- *El intrigante castigado. Comedia de costumbres. Original y en verso. Escrita en dos actos*. Lima. Tip. de Alfaro y Ca. 1867.
- *Las Geórgicas de Virgilio, en verso castellano*. Lima. Imp. de El Comercio. 1867.
- *Cuadros y episodios peruanos, y otras poesías nacionales y diversas*. Lima. Imp. Calle de Melchormalo. 1867.
- *Los médanos. Poema pentasilabo*. Lima. Imp. de El Nacional. 1869.
- *Más, menos, y ni más ni menos. Juguete cómico en un acto y en verso. Estrenado con aplauso en el teatro principal de Lima la noche del 19 de enero de 1871, el el beneficio del actor Don Rafael García Villalonca*. Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1871.
- *La matrona de Efiseo*. Lima. Imp. del Universo de Carlos Prince. 1872.
- *Los Rotonautas*. Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1880.
- *Diccionario de peruanismos. Ensayo filológico*. Lima. Imp. de J. Francisco Solis. 1883.

<sup>23</sup> Francisco Javier Mariátegin, *Anotaciones á la historias del Perú Independiente del don Mariano F. Paz Soldán*. Lima. Imp. de El Nacional. 1869.

<sup>24</sup> Ref. V. Aguirre Vargas, *Sonetos y chispasos de Juan de Arona*, Rev. de Artes y Letras, VI, 382, 3.—P. P. Figueroa, *Paz Soldán y Unanue*, Miscelanea 202-5.—E. Larrabure y Unanue, *Estudios Literarios* . . .

- *Poesía latina. Traducciones en verso castellano de Lucrecio, Virgilio, Plauto, Fedro, Decimo Laberio, etc., dedicadas al Sr. D. M. Menéndez Pelayo.* Lima. Imp. de J. Francisco Solis. 1883.
- *Pasada pesada en posada. Retruécano cómico en un acto y en verso.* Lima. Imp. del Teatro. 1883.
- *Vivir es defenderse. Dificultades de basilio al través de la vida limeña y diario de un pensador.* Lima. Imp. de J. Francisco Solis. 1884.
- *Sonetos y chispazos.* Lima. Imp. del Teatro. 1885.
- *La venganza de la muerte. Poema filosófico en un canto.* Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1886.
- *Canto á Lesseps. Con una traducción francesa del autor.* Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1886. (Translated into Italian by Tomaso Caivano, Lima. Stamp. de Torres Aguirre. 1886.)
- *Las sombras inmortales de la Patria. Alegórica dramática en un acto y en verso.* Lima. Imp. de El Comercio. 1890.
- *Páginas diplomáticas del Perú.* Lima. Imp. de la Escuela de Ingenieros. 1891.
- *La inmigración en el Perú. Monografía histórica-crítica.* Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1891.
- *La linca de Chorillos. Descripción de los tres balnearios marítimos que rodean á Lima. Con 36 fotograbados y un plano de Chorillos.* Lima. Imp. y Enc. Gil. 1894.

**Pérez, Isidro Mariano.**

- *El cosaco del Don. Recuerdo dramático en dos actos, dividido en cuatro cuadros. Escrito en verso.* Lima. Tip. de A. Alfaro y Ca. 1859.
- *El corazón de una Limeña. Drama en cuatro actos escrito en verso.* Lima. Tip. de A. Alfaro y Ca. 1859.
- *Julia. Drama en cuatro actos. Escrita en verso.* Lima. Tip. de A. Alfaro y Ca. 1859.

**Pérez de Vargas, José.**

- *El Vaticinio. Epopeya al Febo peruano.* Lima. Imp. de Masías. 1826.
- *Poesías castellanas.* Lima. Imp. de J. Montoya. 1845.

**Pérez, Trinidad Manuel.**

- *El emigrado español. Drama en cuatro actos.* Lima. Tip. de Aurelia Alfaro y Ca. 1859.
- *La industria y el poder. Drama en tres actos.* Lima. Tip. de Fidel Montoya y Ca. 1862.

**Polar, Jorge.**

— *Arequipa. Descripción y estudio social.* Arequipa. Tip. Mercantil. 1891.

— *Filosofía ligera.* Arequipa. Tip. Caceres. 1895.

— *Estrofas de un poema.* Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1896.

**Polo, José Toribio.<sup>25</sup>**

— *Historia nacional. Crítica del diccionario histórico-biográfico del Señor General Mendiburu.* Lima. Imp. del Comercio. 1891.

— *Apuntes sobre Trujillo y sus obispos.* (In Odriozola, *Documentos literarios*, Vol. X, XI.)

**Portal, Ismael (El Duqueda Veraguas).**

— *Cuernos históricos.* Lima. Imp. Lib. y Enc. Gil. 1897.

— *Morir por la Patria.* José Olaya. Lima. Tip. de El Tiempo. 1899.

— [Second edition.] *Premiada con medalla de oro por la Municipalidad de Chorillos.* Lima. Imp. La Industria. 1906.

— *Lima de ayer y de hoy.* Lima. Imp. Comercial de Horacio La Rosa y Ca. 1912.

— *La independencia del Perú.* Lima. Lib. é Imp. Gil. 1917.

— *Lecturas históricas comentadas. Medalla de oro del Comité Municipal de Fiestas Patrias en 1917.* Lima. Lib. é Imp. Gil. 1918.

— *Cosas limeñas. Historia y costumbres.* Lima. Emp. Tip. Union. 1919.

**Prada, Juan Arguedas.**

— *Ensayos poéticos.* Lima. Impreso por J. Enrique del Campo. 1867.

**Prado y Ugarteche, Javier.<sup>26</sup>**

— *Estudio sobre filología peruana en relación con la historia y la literatura.* [Thesis.] Lima. Imp. y Lib. del Universo. 1888.

— *La evolución de la idea filosófica en la historia.* [Thesis.] Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1891.

— *Estado social del Perú durante la dominación española. Discurso leído en la Universidad Mayor de San Marcos de Lima en la ceremonia de abertura del año escolar de 1894.* Lima. Imp. de El Diario Judicial, por M. Agois. 1894.

— *La educación nacional.* Lima. Lib. Escolar y Imp. E. Moreno. 1899.

— *El problema de la enseñanza.* Lima. Imp. E. Moreno. 1915.

<sup>25</sup> Ref. José de la Riva Agüero, *José Toribio Polo*, *Mercurio Peruano*, I, 125-32.

<sup>26</sup> Ref. Pablo Patrón, *Estudio crítico* . . . .



- *Las nuevas orientaciones humanas. Discurso pronunciado . . . el 12 de octubre de 1917 en la Federación de Estudiantes al ser proclamado Maestro de la Juventud.* Lima. Imp. y Enc. de E. R. Villarán. 1917.
- *El genio de la lengua y de la literatura castellana y sus caracteres en la historia intelectual del Perú.* Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1918. (Published in the Boletín de la Academia Peruana, Tomo I, Cuaderno I, and in the Revista Universitaria, 1917, II, 504-630.)
- *La nueva epoca y los destinos históricos de los Estados Unidos.* Lima. Tip. Union. 1919.

**Prince, Carlos.**

- *Los peruanófilos anticuarios del siglo XIX.* Lima. Imp. de la Escuela de Ingenieros. 1908.
- *Origen de los Indios de América. Origen y civilizaciones de los indígenas del Perú.* Lima. Impreso en casa del autor. 1915.

**Puente, Augustin de la.**

- *La libertad del Perú en la batalla de Ayacucho.* Caracas. Imp. de El Independiente. 1861.

**Puente, Felix de la.**

- *La visión redentora. Novela. Costumbres limeñas.* Trujillo. Tip. Olaya. 1917.

**Puga de Lozada, Amalia.<sup>27</sup>**

- *La felicidad. Primicias literarias.* Lima. Imp. de Peter Bacigalupi. 1887.
- *La literatura en la mujer. Discurso de Amalia Puga en su incorporación al Ateneo de Lima.* Lima. Imp. Liberal. 1891.
- *Ensayos literarios.* Lima. Imp. de la Ilustración Sud-Americana. 1893.

**Quimper Requena, José M.**

- *Poemas cortos.* Lima. Tip. de El Lucero. 1905.

**Quiros, Angel Fernando.**

- *Delirios de un loco. Colección de poesías.* Lima. Imp. del Pueblo. 1857.
- *Tercera entrega.* Lima. Imp. de M. N. Corpancho. 1858.

**Rada y Gamio, Pedro José.**

- *Carta crítico-literaria al Señor Manuel González Prada.* Lima. Imp. de la Bolsa. 1895.

- *La mujer incomparable. Conferencia dada en la escuela española de historia y arqueología en Roma el 12 de junio de 1914 con motivo*

<sup>27</sup> Ref. *Homenaje al la señorita Amalia Puga. La noche de su incorporación en el Ateneo de Lima.* Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1892.

*del tercer centenario de la beatificación de Santa Teresa de Jesús.*  
Roma. Federico Pustet. 1914.

**Ramírez, Carlos Anibal.**

— *Hortensia. Novela.* Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1873.

**Reinoso, Juan José.**

— *Efluvios. Colección de poesías.* Madrid. Est. Tip. Viuda é Hijos de M. Tello. 1894.

**Riva Agüero, José de la.<sup>28</sup>**

— *Carácter de la literatura del Perú independiente.* [Thesis.] Lima. Lib. Francesa Científica Galland. 1905. (Published in the Rev. Univ., 1907, II, 203-6, 280-316 and 1908, I, 77-100, 179-200, 346-400, 458-519.)

— *La historia en el Perú.* Lima. Imp. Nacional de Federico Barriónuevo. 1910.

**Rivas, Ernesto A.**

— *Candidatura vinagre ó delirios de un candidato. Comedia de tantas muelas con coros cantables.* Lima. Imp. Bolognesi. 1890.

— *Puntos suspensivos.* Lima. Imp. de El Nacional. 1893.

— *Episodios nacionales de la Guerra del Pacífico, 1879-1883. Segunda edición notablemente corregida por el autor. Ilustraciones por Miró.* Lima. Imp. de Boix Ferrer. 1900.

— *Tercera edición.* Lima. Joya Literaria. J. Boix Ferrer. 1903.

**Rodríguez, Pedro Manuel.**

— *Memoria de las causas que prepararon la independencia del Perú.* Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1877.

**Rojas y Cañas, Ramón.**

— *Museo de Limeñadas. Colección de artículos de costumbres. Obra ilustrada escrita en Lima.* Lima. Imp. de Justo Montoja. 1853.

**Román, José Antonio.**

— *Hojas de mi album.* Madrid. R. Velasco, Imp. 1903.

— *Almas inquietas. Novelas.* Barcelona. Casa Editorial de Juan Franci. [1914?]

— *Sensaciones de Oriente.* Madrid. Sociedad General Española de Lib. [No date.]

<sup>28</sup> Ref. Francisco García Calderón, *La Tesis de José de la Riva Agüero*, El Ateneo, VII, 205-227.—Alberto Salomón, *La Historia en el Perú por José de la Riva Agüero*, Rev. Univ., 1910, II, 409-15.

**Romero, Carlos Alberto.**<sup>29</sup>

- *Los de la Isla del Gallo. Monografía histórico premiada con medalla de oro en el concurso promovido por El Ateneo de Lima.* Lima. Imp. Escolar é Imp. de E. Moreno. 1899. (Published in El Ateneo, I, 385ff.)

**Rossel, Ricardo.**

- *La huérfana de Ate. Romance original.* Lima. Imp. dirigida por J. R. Montemayor. 1866. (Published in the Ateneo, III, 19-30, 75-80.)
- *Catalina Tupac-Roca. Leyenda tradicional peruana.* Lima. Benito Gil, Editor. Lib. Universal. 1879.
- *Los dos rosales. Pequeño poema leído en la fiesta del Club Literario, enero 25 de 1885.* Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1885.
- *El kepi rojo.* Lima. Imp. Mercaderes. 1885.
- *Obras literarias. Leyendas en prosa. Discursos y escritos diversos. Tomo I.* Lima. Benito Gil, Editor. 1890.
- *Obras literarias. Poesías. Tomo II.* Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1891.

**Rubio, David.**

- *Cartas de mi juventud. Poesías. (Prólogo de P. M. Valdez sobre el clasicismo.)* Lima. Imp. de E. Moreno. [1911?]
- *Remanso. Poesías.* Lima. [Taller de Artes Gráficas.] 1913.

**Salaverry, Carlos Augusto.**<sup>30</sup>

- *Abel, o el pescador. Drama en cuatro actos y un prólogo, escribo en verso americano.* Lima. Tip. Nacional de M. N. Corpancho. 1857.
- *Atahualpa, ó la conquista del Perú. Drama en cuatro actos y en verso.* Callao. Imp. de Estéban Dañino. 1860.
- *Diamantes y perlas.* Lima. Imp. de El Nacional. 1869.
- [Another edition.] Lima. Imp. Nacional. 1880.
- *Albores y destellos.* Havre. Imp. de A. Lemale Ainé. 1871.
- *Misterios de la tumba. Poema filosófico.* Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1883.

<sup>29</sup> C. A. Romero has contributed valuable introductions, biographies and notes to many historical works, among others the *Memoria del Virrey Marqués de Avilés*, Lima. 1901; Lizarraga, *Descripción y población de las Indias*, Lima, 1907; and *Libros y documentos referentes á la historia del Perú*. Lima, 1916, 17, 12 vols.

<sup>30</sup> Ref. Ricardo Palma, *Poetas peruanas. Don Augusto Salaverry*, Rev. de S. A. II, 537-42, published later in Rev. de Lima, III, 298-303.—Alberto Ureta, *Carlos Augusto Salaverry*. [Thesis.] Lima. Casa Edit. Sanmartí y Ca. 1918.

**Saldamando, Enrique Torres.**

— *Los antiguos Jesuitas del Perú. Biografías para su historia.* Lima. Imp. Liberal. 1882.

**Sánchez Barra, José María.**

— *Poesías.* Bruselas. Emp. Devroye, Impresor del Rey. 1862.

**Sánchez Concha, María Isabel (Belsarina).**

— *Crónica limeña. Prólogo de Clemente Palma.* Lima. Oficina Tip. de la Opinión Nacional. 1913.

**San Juan, Manuel A.**

— *Por América y Europa. Impresiones de viage.* Lima. Imp. de El Diario. 1911.

**Sanz, Mariano José.**

— *Poesías.* Lima. Imp. y Lib. de S. Pedro. 1897.

**Sassone, Felipe.**

— *Malos amores. Ensayo de novela.* Barcelona. F. Gananda y Ca. 1906.

— *Almas de fuego. Prólogo de Eduardo Zamacois.* Madrid. Lib. de Gregorio Pueyro. [1907?]

— *Vértice de amor. Novela. De las memorias de un romántico sensual.* Madrid. Lib. de Gregorio Pueyro. 1908.

— *Vida y amor. Comedia en dos actos y en prosa. Estrenada en Lima, el 8 de julio de 1909, y en el Coliseo Imperial de Madrid, el 18 de marzo de 1910.* Madrid. V. H. de Sanz Calleja. [No date.]

— *El último de la clase. Comedia en un acto.* Madrid. V. H. de Sanz Calleja. [No date.]

— *De un errante. Cartas a Jack, kaleidoscopio de prosas.* Madrid. Imp. de Jaime Ratés Martín. 1910.

— *La canción de Pierrot. Fantasía lírica. Música del maestro José Palacios. Estrenada en Buenos Aires, 1912 . . .* Madrid. V. H. de Sanz Calleja. [No date.]

— *El miedo de los felices. Drama original, en tres actos y en prosa. Estrenado en el Teatro Nuevo de Buenos Aires, el 12 de marzo de 1913, y en el Coliseo Imperial de Madrid, el 19 de febrero de 1914.* Madrid. V. H. de Sanz Calleja. [No date.]

— *La muñeca de amor. Capricho japonés lírico-dramático en tres actos, divididos en cinco cuadros. Original. Letra de Felipe Sassone, música del maestro Manuel Penella. Estrenado en el Gran Teatro la noche del 14 de marzo de 1914.* Madrid. R. Velasco, Imp. 1914.

- *El intérprete de Hamlet*. Tragicomedia original en cuatro actos en prosa, con un prólogo en verso. Representada por primera vez en el Teatro Principal de Zaragoza, el 11 de enero de 1915, y estrenada en Madrid, en el Teatro de la Princesa, el 1 de octubre del mismo año. Madrid. V. H. de Sanz Calleja, Editores. [No date.]
- *La espuma de Afrodita*. Las pequeñas tragedias cotidianas. Novela. Segunda edición. Madrid. V. H. de Sanz Calleja, Editores. [No date.]
- *La princesa está triste*. Comedia en tres actos y en prosa. Estrenada en el Teatro Infante Isabel de Madrid la noche del 15 de mayo de 1916. Madrid. H. V. de Sanz Calleja, Editores. [No date.]
- *Lo que llevan las horas*. Comedia en tres actos. Estrenada en el Teatro Isabel de Madrid la noche del 27 de enero de 1916. Madrid. V. H. de Sanz Calleja, Editores. [No date.]
- *Un marido minotauró y sentimental*. Novela erótica. Madrid. Gonzalo de Córdova. [No date.]
- *La canción del bohemio y otros poemas*. Madrid. V. H. de Sanz Calleja, Editores. [No date.]

**Secas, Justo A.**

— *Isabel*. Arequipa. Tip. Caceres. 1888.

**Segura, Manuel Ascencio.**<sup>31</sup>

— *Artículos, poesías y comedias*. Lima. Carlos Prince, Impresor y Librero. 1885.

— *Teatro de Manuel A. Segura*. Precidido de un prólogo [by Ricardo Palma]. Lima. Imp. de la Juventud. 1858. (Contains *El Sargento Canuto*, *La mala moza*, *La saya y manto*, *Na Catita*, *El resignado*, *Nadie me la pega*, *Un juguete* and *La espía*.)

— *Teatro de Manuel A. Segura*. *Lances de Amancaes*. *El santo de Panchito*, *El Cacharapi*. Lima. Imp. de El Nacional. 1869.

**Struque, Francisco.**

— *Zooloma, o fábulas y epigramas políticos y morales*. Arequipa. Imp. de la Bolsa. 1887.

<sup>31</sup> Ref. P. P. Figueroa, *Los poetas de dolor*. Deglane—Aris—Segura. *Miscelánea*, 138–44.—Eduardo Garland Roel, *Manuel Ascencio Segura, sus comedias, artículos y poesías*. [Thesis] Rev. Univ. (Cuzco). 1912.—E. Larrabure y Unanue, *Artículos, poesías y comedias de . . .*, *El Ateneo de Lima*, I, 290–4.—Ricardo Palma, *Poetas peruanos*. *Manuel Segura*. Rev. de S. A. II, 396–408.—Federico Panizo y Orbegoso, *Dos tesis . . .* (Minute analysis of *Las tres viudas* and *Los percanes de un remetido*, two comedies by Segura that do not appear in his collected works. Dr. Javier Prado possesses the manuscript of both.)

**Suárez, Manuel Octavio.**

- *Granos y espigas. Composiciones en forma de verso.* Lima. Imp. de la Patria. 1874.

**Tovar, Manuel.**

- *Obras. Tomo I.* [?]
- *Obras. Tomo II. Artículos de periódicos y polémica.* Lima. Imp. y Lib. de S. Pedro. 1904.

**Ureta, Alberto J.**

- *Rumor de almas.* Lima. Talleres Tip. de La Revista. [1911.]
- *El dolor pensativo. Poemas.* [Prologue by Victor Andrés Bollaunde.] Lima. Sanmartí y Cia. 1917.

**Urquieta, Manuel A.**

- *Caleidoscopio. Prosas ingenuas.* Arequipa. [Tip. Quirós Hermanos.] 1915.

**Urteaga, Horacio M.**

- *El Perú. Bocetos históricos. Estudios arqueológicos, tradicionales é histórico-críticos. Prólogo del Dr. Javier Prado.* Lima. Casa Editora E. Rosay. 1914.
- *El Perú. Bocetos, etc . . . Prólogo de Mariano H. Cornejo. 2a serie.* Lima. Casa Editora E. Rosay. 1919.

**Valdelomar, Abraham.**

- *El Caballero Carmelo. Cuentos. Con un prólogo de D. Alberto Ulloa Sotomayor y un apéndice crítico sobre ésta y otras obras del autor.* Lima. [Talleres de la Penitenciaria.] 1918.

**Valdés, Justo Román.**

- *Ensayo poético. [La Democracia ó La Virgen América.] Primera edición. Setiembre 18 de 1867. Aniversario de la Independencia de la Republica de Chile.* Lima. Imp. de Tomás Larriega y Ca. 1867.

**Valdivia, Juan Gualberto.**

- *Memorias sobre las revoluciones de Arequipa desde 1834 hasta 1866.* Lima. Imp. de La Opinión Nacional. 1874.

**Vargas, M. Nemesio.**

- *El Luoconte de Lessing. Tratado sobre los límites de la pintura y de la poesía con aclaraciones incidentales sobre diferentes puntos de la historia antigua del arte. Traducido directamente del alemán.* Lima. Imp. Masias. 1895.
- *Prédicas del Reverendo Padre Agustín de Montefeltro. Traducidas directamente del italiano con un estudio del estilo oratorio del mismo.* Lima. Imp. Torres Aguirre. 1895.

- *Emilia Galotti. Tragedia en cinco actos de Lessing. Traducida directamente del alemán.* Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1896.
- *Hamlet de Shakespere traducida directamente del inglés.* Lima. Imp. de la Escuela de Ingenieros. 1898.
- *Mis lecturas.* Lima. Imp. Escolar é Imp. de E. Moreno. 1901.
- *Juicio crítico de las obras literarias de Juan Montalvo.* Lima. Imp. de El Lucero. 1905.
- *Historia del Perú Independiente.* Lima. Imp. de la Escuela de Ingenieros. Imp. de la Abeja, Imp. de El Lucero, and Imp. Artística. 1903-1917. 8 vols.

**Velarde, Fernando.**<sup>32</sup>

- *Las flores del desierto. Colección de poesías.* Lima. Imp. de J. M. Masias. 1848.
- *El pabellón español y otras composiciones.* Lima. Imp. de El Heraldo. 1854.
- *Cánticos del Nuevo Mundo.* New York. J. W. Orr, Grabador é Impresor. 1860.

**Velarde, Samuel.**

- *Niebla pequeña. Poema.* Lima. Carlos Prince, Impresor. 1885.
- *La última luz.* Arequipa. Imp. de La Bolsa. 1887.
- *La caída.* Arequipa. Tip. Caceres. 1895.
- *La borrasca.* Arequipa. Tip. Caceres. 1895.
- *Juguetes.* Arequipa. Nueva Tip. 1899.

**Vidal, Ismael Silva.**

- *En el sendero. Cuentos y crónicas. Prólogo de Luis Fernán Cisneros. Epílogo de Leónidas Yerovi.* Lima. Imp. del Centro Editorial. 1913.
- *La voluntad del tedio. Novelas.* Lima. Imp. Tip. Lartiga. 1916.

**Vigil, Francisco de Paula G.**<sup>33</sup>

- *Compendio de la defensa de la autoridad de los gobiernos.* Lima. Imp. del Correo. 1852.
- *Adiciones á la defensa de la autoridad . . .* Lima. Imp. de Eusebio Aranda. 1852.
- *Defensa de autoridad de los gobiernos y de los obispos contra las pretensiones de la curia romana. Segunda parte. Dedicada á la Iglesia Americana.* Lima. Impreso por Juan Sánchez Silva. 1856. 4 vols.

<sup>32</sup> Spanish poet who lived in Peru from 1847 to 1855 and exercised a powerful influence on the literature.

<sup>33</sup> Ref. D. Barros Arana, *Don Francisco de Paula Vigil*, Rev. Chil. II, 543-8.



- *Opúsculos sociales y políticos*. [*Paz perpetua en América. De la guerra. De la soberanía nacional. Del gobierno republicano en América.*] Lima. Imp. del Pueblo. 1857.
- *Ojeada al equilibrio entre las dos potestades. Segunda edición aumentada*. Lima. Impreso por Juan Infantas. 1857.
- *Carta al Papa y análisis del breve de 10 de junio de 1851. Tercera edición*. Lima. Imp. de Eusebio Aranda. 1857.
- *Compendio de la defensa de la autoridad de los obispos contra las pretensiones de la curia romana*. Lima. Imp. Libre. 1857.
- *Escándalo dado al mundo en el asunto Mortara*. Lima. Tip. Nacional. 1859.
- *Apéndice al opúsculo sobre Mortara*. Callao. Tip. de Mariano Gomez y Ca. 1859.
- *Compendio de la obra intitulada Los Jesuitas*. Lima. Imp. de Eusebio Aranda. 1861.
- *Opúsculos sociales y políticos*. Lima. Tip. de Guillermo Guerra. 1862.
- *Opúsculo sobre la pena de muerte*. Lima. Tip. Nacional. 1862.
- *Los Jesuitas presentados en cuadros históricos, sobre las correspondientes pruebas, y con reflexiones al caso, especialmente en sus cosas de América*. Lima. Imp. de M. A. Reyes y Ca. and Tip. Nacional. 1863. 4 vols.
- *Diálogos sobre la existencia de Dios y de la vida futura. Segunda edición revisada por el autor*. Lima. A. Aubert y Ca. 1864.
- *Cartas al Papa Pío IX con varios documentos al caso*. Lima. Imp. del Comercio. 1871.
- *Roma. Opúsculo sobre el principado político del romano Pontífice*. Lima. Imp. del Comercio. 1871.
- Villarán, Asisclo.**
- *Triunfo del Perú. Alegoría*. Lima. Impreso por J. Enrique del Campo. 1861.
- *La caja fiscal. Tal cual será en 1986. Pieza cómica en un acto y en verso*. Lima. Imp. del Universo. 1886.
- Villarán, José Luis.**
- *En la pendiente. Comedia de tres actos y en prosa . . . representada por primera vez el 24 de setiembre de 1911, en el Teatro Municipal de Lima*. Lima. Lib. é Imp. Gil. 1911.
- Villarán, Manuel Vicente.**
- *Naración biográfica del gran mariscal D. José de la Mar y de la traslación de sus restos mortales de la república de Centro-*

- América á la del Perú.* Lima. Imp. de Eusebio Aranda. 1847.
- *Victoria de la Palma. Canto al General Castilla y al ejercito liberador del Perú de 1855.* Lima. Imp. del Comercio. 1856.
- Villarán, Matías.**
- *Victoria del Callao. Canto al Coronel Prado y á los bravos que combatieron con la escuadra española el dos de mayo.* Lima. Impreso por J. Enrique del Campo. 1866. (Contains also patriotic poems by Ascisclo Villarán, Aurelio and Luis Felipe Villarán.)
- Vivero, Domingo de.**
- *Leyenda histórica.* Lima. Imp. de El Nacional [1880?].
- *Oradores parlamentarios del Perú.* Lima. Imp. de la Lib. Clásica y Científica. 1894.
- [Another edition.] Lima. Lib. Francesa Científica Galland. 1900.
- Whilar, Agustín.**
- *Es ó no posible dar giro nuevo á la literatura Sud-Americana.* [Thesis.] Lima. Imp. de Torres Aguirre. 1888.
- *Al través de las literaturas. Carta literaria.* Lima. Imp. de El Diario Judicial. 1895.
- Wiesse, Carlos.<sup>34</sup>**
- *Recuerdos de viaje en Suiza. 1895-1901. Con un prólogo del Dr. D. Germán Leguía y Martínez.* Lima. Imp. del Centro Editorial. 1918.
- *Historia del Perú Independiente.* Lima. E. Rosay, Editor. 1919.
- Zegarra Ballón, Edilberto.**
- *Celia. Poema en siete cantos.* Arequipa. Imp. de la Bolsa. 1889.
- *Vibraciones psíquicas. Poema en tres cántos.* Arequipa. Imp. de la Revista del Sur. 1894.
- *Espontáneas. Prólogo de Carlos G. Amézaga.* Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1903.
- *Poemas.* Lima. Imp. del Estado. 1903.

STURGIS E. LEAVITT

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

<sup>34</sup> Has written a number of text books on history, among them *Apuntes de Historia crítica del Perú.* Lima. Tip. El Lucero. 1909, and *Historia del Perú prehispánico.* Lima. Lib. Fr. Galland. 1918.

## REVIEWS

*Paris et les Parisiens au Seizième Siècle.* Paris Physique—Paris Social—Paris Intime. By ALFRED FRANKLIN, Paris, Emile-Paul, 1921, pp. 536.

This volume by the retired Administrateur of the Bibliothèque Mazarine, was printed during the years 1915-1917, "au milieu de difficultés sans cesse renaissantes et dans des conditions exceptionnelles de lenteur." Coming from the pen of the noted authority of the social history of the thirteenth and sixteenth century the reader could expect nothing but a splendid piece of work. His expectations, however, could not have imagined any book quite so fascinating. As a scholarly document it is a monument of research, as a literary work it has infinite charm. The Preface states clearly the purpose of the author and we can do no better than cite its concluding paragraph:

Pour moi, humble chercheur, les infiniment petits de nos annales bourgeoises m'intéressent plus que les exploits de nos rois. Je me suis donc proposé seulement en ce volume de tracer un tableau fidèle du milieu dans lequel vivaient les Parisiens du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Seuls y trouveront place l'aspect que présentait leur ville, les institutions urbaines qui les régissaient, les conditions variées de leur existence quotidienne. C'est toujours incidemment qu'il sera ici question de la politique, de l'armée, de la marine, des beaux-arts et même des belles-lettres.

Although the book does not treat of literary history, except incidentally, those of us who are interested in the sixteenth century will find a work of the sort under consideration invaluable for the understanding of the literature of the period.

In the first part of the book, "*Paris Physique*," the author describes in great detail the growth of the city, its limits at various moments, its walls, its streets, the names given to those streets, how they were numbered, what sort of street signs existed at the time,—all this accompanied by interesting illustrations. When one reads the description of the dirt, smells, and other sources of infection one begins to wonder how anyone remained alive under those conditions. The pages devoted to the street cries of Paris are exceedingly interesting. M. Franklin takes up every possible phase of life, describing the carriages in which rode the people of that time, the lighting of the streets, the bridges, public clocks, fountains. He tells us that in general the authors of the sixteenth century, so generous in their praises of Paris, were not very enthusiastic about the Parisians. He cites from Lestoile, Rabelais, and others.

In the second part, "*Paris Social*," we learn about the administration of the municipality, the street criers, the reform of the calendar, money, taxes, privileges granted to "familles nombreuses," the curious trials of animals—I am simply picking out a few details from the great mass of information—instruments of torture, duels, begging, drunkenness, the care of the poor, etc. Every now and then the author throws interesting light on some French proverbs whose historical significance has long been forgotten. The third chapter, on Education, is of great importance and from the point of view of narration, extremely vivid. The following chapter throws much new light on the history of printing, on the organisation of printers, book-sellers, binders, copyists—invaluable information for the student of literary history. This material is immediately followed by a

description of workingmen's corporations and other topics of interest to the student of the history of labor.

"*Paris Intime*," the subject of the third part of the volume, gives us a picture of the daily life of the people which no one study has yet assembled. The reader remains dumbfounded at the author's acquaintance with every possible phase of the human activity of the time, knowledge gleaned from an infinite amount of reading. The abundant notes bear witness throughout the book of extensive consultation of manuscripts, historical, literary works and documents of every conceivable nature, with a judicious choice of what is trustworthy and reliable. This third part is divided into seven chapters with the following headings: "Le mariage et l'enfant, L'appartement, Le costume, Les repas, La santé, La religion, Fêtes et jeux." Under these subdivisions the author groups a wealth of information and presents it in a scholarly and at the same time attractive way. We follow the sixteenth century society through all its activities, and every now and then the author allows his personal attitude to show through this mine of material, as for instance:

"On ne regardait pas alors un enfant à élever comme une égoïste source de joie et de plaisir pour la maison, et l'on se rendait très bien compte que, dans son intérêt comme dans celui de la société, l'intervention d'une main ferme était souvent indispensable."

M. Franklin cites from Rabelais, from Marguerite de Navarre, Corrozet, and from many other well known writers of the time. He even enters into philological discussions and gives evidence of a deep understanding of the language of the period.

It is interesting to read such minute details as the meal-hours, the order of courses, the food, and beverages in vogue at the time, the use of forks, tooth-picks, tobacco, and the first use of the pipe in smoking. We read here of the origin of such expressions as *mettre le couvert*: and *nouer deux bouts*. The chapter on "La santé" gives a detailed account of the knowledge of medicine at the time, the treatment of certain diseases, the superstitions connected with both the disease and its treatment, while the following chapter, "La Religion," goes into the beginnings of the Reformation, an account of pilgrimages, penalties, relics, criers, funerals and cemeteries. Finally, in the chapter on "Fêtes et Jeux," we learn of the working day and the holiday, the fires of Saint John, music, animal fights, popular entertainments, gifts, various games and toys for children.

Here then is a book which, though not intended primarily for students of literature, is of great value to them. Until its publication, in order to get only a very incomplete picture of life in Paris in the sixteenth century, one had to consult an endless number of volumes, many of which are inaccessible to anyone living abroad. In the volume at hand all this information is brought together, with the addition of much that is new and heretofore unpublished. The material is classified so that it is easily consulted and with all that it is presented in a fascinating style. Literature is unintelligible without history and especially without a knowledge of social history. *Paris et les Parisiens au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle* furnishes the background which every student of the literature of the sixteenth century needs.

HÉLÈNE HARVITT

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

